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Authors include Bernard A. Kaplan, Patrick G. Groff, Clement E. Vontress, Samuel Tenenbaum, William C. Kvaraceus, Frederick Shaw, Gordon L. Chamberlin, and Calvin D. Catterall.

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Special Feature

Educating the Culturally Deprived in the Great Cities

KAPLAN • VONTRESS
GROFF • TENENBAUM
KVARACEUS • SHAW
CHAMBERLIN—CATTERALL

Plus Other Articles, News Reports, Research Summaries, Reviews, Features

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EDITORIAL

Laying Out New Routes to Adulthood

STAY-in-school exhortations addressed indiscriminately to the younger generation leave me increasingly uneasy and dissatisfied. And the growing popularity of efforts to measure education solely with economic yardsticks almost makes me ill.

Why?

Because both usually ignore so many pertinent facts and considerations.

Take the advice to potential dropouts. Until we build schools for all kinds of kids, it is unfair and dishonest to ask them all to stay in school. Paul Goodman is right in saying (October 5 *New Republic*) that academic talent, the ability to profit from curricular abstractions, is a special disposition, neither better nor worse than any other. He is probably right in saying that for the majority of adolescents academic routine is time-wasting, unreal, dispiriting, desexualizing, and destructive of initiative. Goodman regards our post-Sputnik speed-up and fierce competitiveness as a moral, emotional, and intellectual disaster, even for bright academics, who are bribed and debauched by false rewards. The slower majority is tormented and humiliated, cruelly miseducated and hoaxed.

This disaster is sensationally documented in articles like "The Tormented Generation" (October 12 *Saturday Evening Post*), which deals with the misery, mental breakdowns, and youthful suicides resulting from strains of college life for the bright and average alike. Nevitt Sanford recently noted that the top fifty scholars at a prominent university had never had time for a single date in college. (Score one in a comeback for life-adjustment education!)

Goodman's points are valid, but his concept of school as "a box with seats facing front" is deficient and out-dated. Somehow this all-too-prevalent concept must be changed. Robert Havighurst said years ago that modern society "requires a concept of education that will push out the walls of the average school and give [children] a chance to grow into adulthood in new and uncharted ways."

Goodman tries to chart some of the new routes—but, typically, he doesn't offer any way of building or policing them. He says, "There are plenty of educative opportunities: improving 50,000 ugly small towns; youth work camps in conservation and urban renewal; countervailing mass communications with hundreds of little theaters, little radio, local papers; technical apprenticeships *within* the industries, paid by public and corporation, with the aim of making workmen who understand what they are doing and can be inventive; subsidizing small farms, to make them economically feasible and reverse the rural ratio to something nearer 30 per cent, instead of the present absurd 8 per cent; community service like Friends Service and Peace Corps. In such concrete activities, directly useful in society, millions of youth could find educational opportunity more tailored to their needs. Are they less cultural than the average classroom for the non-bookish kid?"

Summing up, Goodman says that all should be educated and at the public expense, but not in something like schools. He has no confidence either in today's schools or in the kind of educators who run them.

We invite such critics to look at the schools described in Phi Delta Kappa's *Work-Study Programs for Alienated Youth.** In these schools—which are not boxes with seats facing front but part and parcel of the community—non-academic children are learning self-respect and self-sufficiency. There are not enough such schools, heaven knows. But schoolmen (not social critics) are trying to build more of them. The interest this book has created among professional educators is truly gratifying. As a direct result of it many educators—we wish we knew just how many—are trying to persuade their boards to provide the wherewithal to "push out the walls." Just one example is a new program in the Ann Arbor, Mich., High School. Principal Nicholas Schreiber attended a kick-off conference for the work-study casebook, held last November at Wayne State University. Within six months he had worked out a program and had won board approval for it. It is in effect this fall.

It is true that opposition to the new routes to adulthood being proposed by imaginative schoolmen will come from government, corporations, labor unions, and even the urban poor who would consider themselves downgraded. But these routes must be pushed through to completion before our talk about dropouts can be honest.—SME

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* Planned by the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, financed by the Ford Foundation, written by George Burchill, and published by Science Research Associates, Inc., 259 E. Erie, Chicago 11, Ill. Price $4.95 (hard cover).

"Only by confronting the issues squarely and unequivocally will school districts be able to develop successfully their own programs for disadvantaged pupils."

Issues in Educating the
CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

> *"The child was diseased at birth, stricken with a hereditary ill that only the most vital of men are able to shake off. I mean poverty—the most deadly and prevalent of all diseases."*
>
> —Eugene O'Neill, *Fog*

By BERNARD A. KAPLAN

CULTURALLY disadvantaged youth—and by this we usually mean poverty-stricken youth—are the subject of growing interest among the nation's educators. For the most part, the problem of educating this group is an ancient one, but it is becoming more and more visible as rural slums are transplanted to the great city, where they grow and fester. (The problem still exists in rural areas, of course, in all its depressing forms.[1]) Because urbanization and migration to the cities continue unabated, concern will mount.

Recognition of the problem and initiation of steps to solve it are manifest in many districts across the country. A recent issue of the *NEA Journal*[2] devotes fifteen pages to seven articles on programs and approaches. The progenitor of these programs began as the Guidance Demonstration Project in New York City in 1956. Eminently successful, it was later expanded and renamed Higher Horizons.

The Higher Horizons program served as a model for myriad other programs, including the Ford Foundation Great Cities Grey Areas programs, Houston's Talent Preservation project, Phoenix's Careers for Youth, and Seattle's Disadvantaged Student program. The first state-wide program based on the Higher Horizons formula was started as Project ABLE by New York state in 1961. It provides $200,000 annually in state funds on a 50-50 matching basis to sixteen different city, village, and suburban communities. Four other states are now planning or considering similar programs: Maine, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and California. The California legislature recently approved a proposal for an Environment Enrichment program in which $324,000 in state funds will go to school districts.

While many communities are becoming aroused to the needs and are showing interest, a number of issues connected with establishing Higher Horizons-type programs need discussion.

Issue I. Who Are the Disadvantaged and How Are They Identified?

Are all pupils who live in slum neighborhoods disadvantaged? Do all pupils from minority groups and urban areas qualify for such programs? Should we call them "culturally deprived," "impoverished," "disadvantaged," or something else? Can entire "culturally deprived" schools be se-

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[1] Robert M. Isenberg, "The Rural Disadvantaged," *NEA Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 4, April, 1963.

[2] *NEA Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 4, April, 1963.

lected for such programs, or do we work with only selected cases within these schools?

Frank Riessman, in his recent book titled *The Culturally Deprived Child,*[3] uses these terms interchangeably: culturally deprived, educationally deprived, underprivileged, disadvantaged, lower class, lower socio-economic. He points out that by 1970 one out of two public school pupils in these cities will be "culturally deprived." Indeed, this is already the case in Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia.

Whether we choose to call these pupils disadvantaged, culturally deprived, or economically impoverished, they usually exhibit two characteristics: they are from the lower socio-economic groups in the community and they are notably deficient in cultural and academic strengths. The latter characteristic is usually, but not always, a consequence of the first factor. The parents of these children have simply been unable to provide the quality of background, outlook, initial grounding, and readiness for formal learning that middle- and upper-class parents provide as a matter of course. And all too often our schools have been almost exclusively geared to the mores of the latter group.

Identifying or designating certain pupils or schools as culturally disadvantaged remains a local problem. Sometimes 90 per cent or more of the student body may unquestionably fit this designation, and consequently the entire school may require a special program. In other cases, perhaps 50 per cent of the student body can be regarded as culturally disadvantaged, while in most schools the ratio is more likely one disadvantaged pupil to three up to ten not underprivileged. These latter schools face the problem of how to provide a program for only a portion of the school's enrollment (usually scattered throughout all grade levels), how to select and exclude specific individuals (border-line cases are the toughest), and finally, how this group should be designated. One Project ABLE elementary school in a New York state village has students dispersed throughout the school, with anywhere from one to six in a class of twenty-five to thirty. Another Project ABLE program in a small city not far away has identified its sixth-grade disadvantaged youngsters and brought them together in a pilot program in one classroom under one highly competent male teacher.

As to what terms to use, the impact of labeling individuals or schools as culturally deprived, no matter how accurate this term may in fact be, is best illustrated by what happened to an elementary principal in New York state. As a project director of a "culturally deprived" school, he had so termed it to teachers and board members. At a meeting of representatives from all Project ABLE schools in the state, he found that the neighborhood school he had attended as a boy was a Project ABLE school. When he heard this, his first reaction was, "That's ridiculous! My old school? That neighborhood's not culturally deprived!" The character of the neighborhood may have changed since his day, but the important point is that an intelligent, dedicated individual directing his efforts and ingenuity to improving the educational level of his culturally disadvantaged students failed to recognize the denigrating effect of the phrase until it was applied to *him.*

Most programs for culturally deprived pupils are now being given euphonious (or euphemistic) titles, frequently chosen by the pupils themselves. These titles can be indicative of the purpose and spirit of the programs without overtones of denigration: Higher Horizons, Project ABLE, Operation Bootstrap, Springboard, New Frontiers, Wings, Project Mercury, Project HELP, Talent Demonstration.

Issue II. Are Programs for the Disadvantaged "Fair" to Other School Children?

In districts where special programs have been developed, the provision of extra teachers and counselors, special services, supplies and materials, cultural enrichment trips, and the like are eyed enviously by pupils, teachers, administrators, and parents from non-project schools. This is especially so when the special program is designed for only a segment of the school's enrollment. Some administrators have felt that this is an insuperable handicap and hesitate to develop special programs for this reason. It is also argued that these programs are unfair to non-project children because they cost more on a per-pupil basis.

Such objections are not new to education. They have been raised with regard to special education for the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, gifted and academically talented, and emotionally disturbed. Few people now feel that special educational problems do not merit special programs and additional costs. It is true that a compensatory educational experience for the disadvantaged group almost always entails additional expenditures. However, it can be argued that *equal* educational opportunity for these youngsters does not necessarily mean the same *kind* of education; in most cases, it means equal *plus* more of the same in greater depth, quality, and appropriateness.

If some school board members are reluctant to allocate additional funds to certain sub-groups, let them calm their doubts in the knowledge that, almost without fail, these programs bring sparkling dividends which benefit the rest of the school program and the wider community. For example, practices, approaches, and experiences developed by teachers in these programs are often transferrable, with little or no additional cost, to other classes and schools in the district. The impact on the school's morale is evident in this excerpt from a Project ABLE director's report:

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[3] Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962.

> When the project began, a few teachers in the project schools were skeptical of its value. At the end of the first year of operation everyone associated with the project—students, parents, school and community personnel alike—is enthusiastic and hopeful it will be expanded. The most frequently expressed comments are "This is wonderful; let's have more of it!" or "At last we are able to do what we've always known should be done."
>
> At first it was a little difficult to interest teachers in giving the extra time required. Now we have lists of teachers, many from faculties other than those of the project schools, who are anxious to participate.

Finally, school board members and community leaders are beginning to see clearly, especially with regard to school dropouts, that a greater investment *now* constitutes a saving to the community in the long run, when this investment is balanced with resultant lower costs for welfare, unemployment benefits, institutional and rehabilitative services, and greater earnings and citizen productivity.

Issue III. Are Programs for the Disadvantaged Just Another Method of Maintaining De Facto Segregation?

Some educators and observers have wondered whether these programs might not be an attempt to maintain *de facto* school segregation. This is because students in most of the programs are overwhelmingly from minority groups, especially in Northern cities where housing and neighborhood residential patterns have operated to produce *de facto* school segregation in supposedly integrated schools. Segregated schools serving segregated neighborhoods will be excused and even condoned, these people infer, if the programs and services offered by these schools are outstanding and attractive.

These programs, once instituted, in fact tend to produce the reverse effect. Project pupils are given the chance to participate in activities with pupils from all over the school district, often for the first time. Since the purpose of programs for the disadvantaged is to lift the sights and aspirations of these youngsters, the resultant effect, when these attempts are successful, is for greater numbers to select and qualify for academic and honors courses at the high-school level. At this point they associate with white students from middle-class and privileged backgrounds much more frequently and intimately than they otherwise would.

In addition, in view of what has happened to the "separate but equal" doctrine, it is unlikely that the Negro community will tolerate the extension of this practice in a new form, even on a "separate but better" basis.

Programs for the disadvantaged serve to accelerate pupil adjustment, growth in achievement and ability, and readiness, so that these pupils can assume full-fledged membership status in the schools. They develop the ability to benefit from and aspire to whatever opportunities the community's educational system and the future may offer. This is why such organizations as the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) and the National Urban League endorse them enthusiastically.

Issue IV. Should Programs for the Disadvantaged Concentrate on One Specific Grade Level, e.g., the Elementary Grades?

Some educators argue that programs for the disadvantaged can be most effectively and economically operated if they concentrate at one level, for example, grades 1-3, rather than at a higher level. It is not at all unusual to hear recommendations that "this approach is unquestionably a good one at this level but a far superior job could be done if it had been in effect for these same children one, two, or three years earlier."

Successful or promising programs have been inaugurated at *all* levels.[4] Pre-kindergarten programs for disadvantaged children have been conducted in New York City, Baltimore, and by the state of Pennsylvania's Environment Enrichment program. Kindergarten programs for this group are underway in Racine (Wisconsin), Dayton (Ohio), White Plains (New York), and in Texas for Mexican-American children. Other programs for the disadvantaged cover the full range of grades one through twelve. Project ABLE schools in New York state have programs underway at all levels, although most of them concentrate on grades four through eight. The Higher Horizons program is now operating in grades three through ten.

Indeed, a few colleges have started experimentation with programs and admissions policies and procedures for disadvantaged youth. Bronx Community College in New York City has experimented with special pre-college evening courses in literature, composition, mathematics, and basic study skills. Intensified guidance and counseling has been provided for these youngsters. Southern University (Baton Rouge), Dillard University (New Orleans), and Whitworth College (Spokane, Washington) are experimenting with pre-college orientation for these students. Harvard, Brown, and Rhode Island College have relaxed admissions requirements for, and are carefully following up, selected cases.

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[4] Daniel Schreiber, "The Dropout and Delinquent: Promising Practices Gleaned from a Year of Study," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 44, No. 5, February, 1963.

Since programs are serving the disadvantaged at all levels from pre-kindergarten through college, the important question is not the best grade level on which to focus these activities but rather the most appropriate place to *begin*.

The level at which a school system chooses to introduce its program will depend, of course, on a number of factors, among them staff readiness and leadership, facilities, community resources, and parental support.

Issue V. Do Programs for the Disadvantaged Require Foundation Funds or Outside Financial Support?

Admittedly, foundation grants and outside funds are a great asset in getting a program underway, not only because of the extra monies provided but for the aura of approval and support the staff and the community attach to a foundation program. The Ford Foundation's Great Cities Grey Areas program has provided sizeable amounts of money to metropolitan school districts. The College Entrance Examinations Board and the National Service and Scholarship Fund for Negro Students donated funds to get the original Guidance Demonstration project underway in New York City. The Johnson and Western Foundations have made grants to the Racine, Wisconsin, school system for its experimental program. State funds in New York state and Pennsylvania have permitted their respective state education departments to develop projects.

Nevertheless, in a number of cases school systems have begun their programs with little extra expenditures or with the additional funds provided entirely by the local community. In Norfolk, Virginia, a recent replication of the Higher Horizons program was attempted at that city's Jacox Junior High School without outside support. According to a study by Brazziel and Gordon, programs to help disadvantaged children make better use of public education can be carried out in any school at a modest cost.[8]

Some school systems have already developed special activities for the culturally disadvantaged without outside assistance. The National Urban League's Talent Search Bank approach, utilizing community volunteers and resources, has done this for some time.

Sometimes a small or token appropriation is sufficient to launch a successful demonstration. In New York state during the last few years, the State Education Department has sponsored Talent Search programs in thirty city, village, and suburban school districts. For the most part these are small-scale demonstration projects. NDEA Title V-A funds provided intensified guidance services for underachieving students at the junior high-school level.

In the future, it appears, school systems desiring programs for their culturally disadvantaged students will have to rely primarily on local funds and resources. As with other educational innovations, from programmed learning to language laboratories, once educational merit has been established, the introduction of the new program becomes the joint responsibility of the school district and the state.

Issue VI. Is Additional Money All That's Needed To Launch a Successful Program?

Obviously an effective comprehensive program for disadvantaged children requires additional funds. While there may be disagreement about the amount, there is a general consensus that compensatory educational experiences and provisions demand additional expenditures. However, a school district must provide more than money if it is to develop a successful program.

For one thing, even if specialists are added, much will need to be done in the way of orientation and in-service training for the entire staff. Special curricular materials will have to be developed. Program activities, particularly those pertaining to cultural enrichment, work-study experiences, and group guidance will require planning and coordination. If, in addition, team teaching, ungraded primary programs, and other such innovations are to be simultaneously introduced, even greater care must be exercised in making plans. This planning takes time.

Hunter College, Yeshiva University, Newark State Teachers College, and Queens College have each been developing specialized educational programs for their students who will be teaching disadvantaged pupils. The Detroit Public Schools and Bank Street College (New York City), working independently, are developing special materials for teaching reading to culturally disadvantaged pupils at the primary level. One school in Chicago developed its own elementary school readers "replete with slums instead of suburbs as motifs and mixed ethnic groups as characters."[6]

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[8] William F. Brazziel and Margaret Gordon, "Replications of Some Aspects of the Higher Horizons Program in a Southern Junior High School," *Bulletin of the NASSP*, Vol. 47, No. 281, March, 1963.

Especially important is the need to work with the entire staff of the schools involved. Many teachers, often unconsciously, may be psychologically rejecting these students; all teachers in such a program should have the opportunity to participate in in-service training to examine their attitudes, expectations, and practices with regard to these youngsters.

Issue VII. Is There a Standard Type of School Program for the Disadvantaged That a Community Can Adopt?

Some administrators assume that programs for the disadvantaged can be introduced in much the same way that a new educational practice such as television is added. However, the depth, breadth, and exact form that characterize successful programs vary considerably community to community. Some aspects are highlighted in some schools but assume secondary roles in others. Perhaps the best illustration of the variety that can occur is shown by the forty-two programs described in the recent (February, 1963) publication, *School Programs for the Disadvantaged,* prepared by the NEA's Educational Research Service.[7] While these programs share basic similarities, each is unique and must be viewed as reflecting local needs and local leadership. Each school must design and develop its own. Even the Higher Horizons program provides for variation among schools. No two programs in Project ABLE are just alike, though all were planned and initiated during 1961 under State Education Department auspices.

One community can learn from another engaged in a similar program. Visits by teachers and administrators to programs-in-action help to transplant program techniques and rationales from one community to another. In addition, a growing body of research and progress reports is available to interested districts.

Issue VIII. Are Programs for the Disadvantaged Unduly Influenced by the "Hawthorne Effect"?

These programs, it is claimed, are effective not because of the specific techniques and activities employed but because the children involved feel that they have been selected for special consideration. Given a sugar pill which he thinks is an aspirin, the child reports that his headache has disappeared (the "Hawthorne effect"). It is asserted that it's not *what* is done but merely that something "special" is done and that students know they have been selected for this something special; the end result will still produce substantial improvement in behavior, although the changes may be only temporary.

The research now underway with experimental and control groups will eventually illuminate the validity of these charges. However, it does appear from the evidence already reported that substantial gains in the performances of pupils (test scores, class marks and standings, attendance, educational and vocational goals) and of schools (holding power, discipline, scholarship awards, teacher retention) are achieved merely by the introduction of these programs. Such gains as improved reading skills and increased holding power are not ephemeral in their effect on student achievement and accomplishments. Though student performance *may* no longer continue to improve with a cessation of program activities (thereby supporting the thesis that the "new" motivation is not fully integrated), it is likely that this criticism applies equally well to other facets of the school program, e.g., extracurricular activities or guidance services.

The goal of most Higher Horizons-type programs is to convey to each disadvantaged pupil the feeling that he is the focus of the school's concern and attention. This may be a distinct revelation for many of these pupils. Unless correspondent traits are manifested by the staff and effectively communicated to the pupil and his parents, these programs fall short of their objectives. Some observers feel it is this aspect of the program more than any other that produces the desired changes. Others feel that improved techniques and methods and new opportunities are the key components. Still a third group contends that it is a combination of these two approaches. Of course the two approaches are not mutually exclusive. The Hawthorne criticism, however, applies mainly to the first and third views, i.e, heightened motivation, no matter how it is produced, will bring about (similar) change in student performance. If this is true, a logical question is, What alternative (more effective, less costly, or more efficient) "sugar pill" activities might realistically be substituted?

Some experts suggest that these programs can accomplish their objectives by eliminating all but one or two features, these varying with the needs or resources of the community. Recent research evidence regarding motivation and underachievement suggests that these two phenomena are highly complex; therefore, it appears unlikely that oversimplified or "shortcut" solutions will produce similar changes in student behavior. In fact, even in full-scale Higher Horizons programs, where activities are multiple and varied, a minority of students make no gains.

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Educational Research Service, *School Programs for the Disadvantaged,* National Education Association, 1963.

The importance of motivation, attitudes, and the student's self-image in these programs must not be minimized. The frequency with which these programs report noticeable positive change, first in student demeanor (dress, attendance, interest, speech), and subsequently in academic accomplishments (grades, levels of achievement, skills) emphasizes the importance of including consideration of student attitudes in programs for the disadvantaged.

Issue IX. Do Programs for the Disadvantaged Overlook or Minimize the Attributes of the Culture of These Children and Their Families?

The term "culturally deprived" is now viewed with some disfavor by certain sociologists and educators; more accurate terms, they submit, are "culturally different" or "economically deprived." They maintain that children from impoverished families are *not* culturally deprived in the sense that they are culture*less*. Rather, their cultures and heritages *differ* from those cultivated by the middle-class schools they attend. Programs for the disadvantaged, they say, disregard the special strengths of this group, e.g., their folk humor, physical or manipulative propensities, pragmatism, etc., and condescendingly regard these children as having little if anything positive to offer or to build on in the classroom.

Some critics scold the schools for their rejection of the "culture of poverty" and insist that many of these youths who, in turn, reject the schools by dropping out are wiser and more realistic than their peers who choose to remain.[8]

The claim that school personnel in general and programs for disadvantaged specifically minimize potential non-middle-class contributions and meritorious qualities is probably a fair appraisal. However, there is evidence now that many programs are attempting to foster in their staff a better understanding of the community's disadvantaged and to adapt and develop materials and methods accordingly. For instance, primary readers and materials more realistically attuned to the actual experiences and backgrounds of these children are being developed. (The Board of Education of New York City has recently served notice on textbook publishers that it would no longer purchase social studies texts which do not adequately treat minority groups and deal realistically with intergroup tensions and efforts to relieve them. Other large city systems are considering similar stands.) The New York State Education Department has developed curriculum materials pertaining to the Negro in American history and American society today.[9] The Washington, D.C., public schools are developing similar materials.

Special courses for teachers in training and teachers in service help school personnel gain a better understanding of varying cultural and ethnic groups and their problems. Some programs for the disadvantaged make provision for home visits by teachers and counselors or arrange for periodic, informal discussions with small groups of parents (numbering four to six) in the school. These attempts at improved parental communication and participation also give school personnel more accurate perspective and insight regarding the backgrounds, values, and orientations of disadvantaged families.

Do programs for the disadvantaged, by their mere existence, indicate that the cultures and values of these groups are meaningless and unworthy of consideration in the schools? Are these programs set up primarily to stamp out cultural differences and to fill the void with values, goals, and habits deemed more acceptable to "society" by school board members or administrators? If this were the case, it would do great violence to the American democratic tradition. It seems more likely that the real aim of these programs is not the blurring and subjugating of differences so much as providing underprivileged pupils with the tools of an education adequate to guarantee them the competence to make their own choices and decisions regarding how they wish to live, to work, to play. Otherwise, their choices are restricted by immediate circumstance and limited environments. As the Educational Policies Commission has pointed out,[10] "If the problem of the disadvantaged is to be solved, the society as a whole must give evidence of its undifferentiated respect for all persons."

The commission further asserts:

> The problem of the disadvantaged arises because their cultures are not compatible with modern life. One of the greatest challenges facing the United States today is that of giving all Americans a basis for living constructively and independently in the modern age. *The require-*

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[8] Edgar Friedenburg, "An Ideology of School Withdrawal," a chapter in the forthcoming NEA publication, *School Dropouts*, Daniel Schreiber, editor, scheduled for late 1963.

[9] The New York State Education Department, *Intergroup Relations, Resource Handbook for Elementary School Teachers; The Negro in American History*, Division of Intercultural Relations in Education, The New York State Education Department, Albany 1, N. Y., 1963.

[10] *Education and the Disadvantaged American*, Educational Policies Commission, NEA, 1962.

> *ment is not for conformity but for compatibility.* To make all people uniform would be as impractical as it would be inconsistent with American ideals. *To give all people a fair chance to meet the challenge of life* is both practicable and American. [Italics added]

JACOB Landers, coordinator of New York City's Higher Horizons program, in answer to the question, What makes a successful Higher Horizons school?[11] said:

> No amount of increased appropriations, and no change in procedures or organization, can be effective without a fundamental faith in the ability of the children. It is not enough to know intellectually that Negro and Puerto Rican children can learn as well as other children. It must be felt in the marrow of the bones and in the pit of the stomach.
>
> This belief in the children and pride in their accomplishments must run like a golden thread through the fabric of the school's daily existence. With this feeling, the school poor in services can yet be rich in achievement; without it, the richest services yield but the poorest results.
>
> Our great enemy is the phrase "as well as can be expected." It implies that the school merely reflects the community, but cannot affect it. It implies an acceptance of the *status quo,* rather than a struggle to change it.
>
> The true Higher Horizons program spreads faith in children and hope for their future.

The variety of programs which have been developed illustrates that this faith in children and hope for their future can be expressed and fostered in different ways. There will naturally be questions about the most practicable, economical, and beneficial kind of program to develop in a given community. These questions are embraced by the issues discussed here. Only by confronting these squarely and unequivocally will school districts be able to develop successfully their own programs for disadvantaged pupils.

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[11] *Higher Horizons Bulletin,* December, 1962, Board of Education of the City of New York.

Dissatisfactions in Teaching the CD Child

By PATRICK J. GROFF

THE high rate of teacher turnover in schools that enroll culturally deprived children adds another distressing problem to an already difficult situation. Data are available on the turnover of teachers in general but not on the turnover among teachers of culturally disadvantaged children.

Responses of 294 teachers in sixteen schools serving Negro or Mexican-American "ghettos" in a large city suggest that an important reason for the high turnover is the teacher's own awareness of his inadequacy for this kind of teaching. Many of the teachers who completed this open-ended sentence, "The main reason, in my opinion, for the high turnover among teachers of CD children is . . . , " offered more than one reason, however.

Forty per cent of the responses pointed to "peculiarities" in the personalities of culturally deprived children as the major cause of the dissatisfaction that leads to turnover. Thirty-seven per cent highlighted deficiencies in the administration or organization of the school, while 22 per cent mentioned the shortcomings of the teachers themselves. Problems of discipline or negative behavior, classes that were too large, and lack of understanding and acceptance of deprived children by teachers headed the list of specifics.

The responses of these elementary teachers suggest that to reduce the rate of turnover four improvements are critical. One is the reduction of classes to manageable size. Classes must be small enough to allow the necessary time and space to work with the CD child individually if his work habits, his attitudes toward school, and his social aspirations are to be improved. Second, principals and teachers must reconstruct the curriculum, find proper teaching materials, and organize instructional procedures to promote achievement in the three R's. When the satisfaction of pupil improvement in these skills is missing, teachers become increasingly frustrated with their work. Third, administrators must strive to aid teachers with discipline problems and reduce the number of days teachers are driven to the brink of nervous exhaustion. Finally, teachers must be selected who have a basic sympathy for the CD child and a conviction that they must not reject him because of his cultural peculiarities. To place a prejudiced, reluctant, or inexperienced teacher in these classes makes it not only likely but desirable that he will seek reassignment. Finally, teacher education colleges have a responsibility to graduate students experienced with the CD child, understanding of his problems, and accepting of his nature.

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Combining research and experience, the guidance director of a large all-Negro high school writes frankly of the numbing difficulties facing Negro parents, teachers, principals, and students in the Northern inner-city.

Do we want more than make-believe education for these slum children, who eventually become wards of the state? If so, Mr. Vontress has a prescription for progress.

THE AUTHOR

Our Demoralizing Slum Schools

By CLEMMONT E. VONTRESS

A FED-UP big-city school teacher resigned with this comment: "In public schools today the teacher is afraid of the principal; the principal is afraid of the superintendent; the superintendent is afraid of the school board; the board is afraid of the parents; the parents are afraid of the children; and the children are afraid of nobody."

Such a reaction, although tinged with humor, incisively describes one aspect of the much talked-about explosive social situations which swell in inner-cities. While many social institutions are subjected to critical analysis because of these potentially dangerous conditions, the severest scrutiny and the sharpest attack is reserved for the school. Perhaps this is because the school has for so many years been thought of as the panacea institution of a troubled society struggling to realize democracy for all its citizens. Not wishing to appear impotent as a social agency, it has attempted to be all things to all people. Lately, however, educators have gained new insights into what the school can and cannot do. They realize that no school system can overcome single-handedly the social, cultural, and economic handicaps under which many children live in their non-school hours.

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The retreat of whites from decaying city cores to segregated suburbs has become a salient social phenomenon. This exodus from the Negro-occupied inner-city has reached unbelievable proportions and no abatement is in sight. The annual white overflow from New York is 50,000; from Chicago, 15,000; and from Cleveland, 3,000.[1] As whites scamper, waves of Southern, country-bred Negroes move in. In 1895, Booker T. Washington revealed in his famous "Cast Down Your Buckets Where You Are" speech that one-third of the population of the South was Negro. Today, 43.5 per cent of the country's 18,871,831 Negroes live outside the original Confederacy states.[2] Negro population density in major Northern cities is four times that of whites. Detroit is 28.9 per cent Negro; Chicago, 22.9 per cent; and Washington, D. C., 53.9 per cent.[3] Some observers predict that by 1970 over one-half of all Negroes will live outside the South.

The Negro's presence in Northern urban areas has brought heretofore unknown racial problems to many cities. His "most visible racial traits which force themselves spontaneously upon one's attention"[4] and his un-city ways[5] have resulted in nationwide attention and increased prejudice. Full integration into American society is still remote. Every small advance in one area is offset by a retreat in another. Segregation by race is giving away to segregation by economic class. Legalistically, advances have been made; economically, more severe pressures and restrictions for the vast majority of Negroes are apparent. Automation, calling for technically trained workers, now excludes most poorly educated, unskilled Negro workers from the ranks of the employed. Since unemployed parents are in no position to assist their children in furthering their education, a degrading, self-perpetuating cycle of poverty sets in. Although laws may not prohibit a Negro from entering certain places of business, money—that is, the lack of it—will. For the vast majority of Negroes, equality will be realized only when they can compete economically. Successful job competition depends on education. Thus, finding ways to keep Negro youngsters in school is just as urgent as passing laws to "open doors" through which only the employed pass. Unless Negro children stay in school, the poverty-stricken, crime-riddled inner-city will remain the unhappy staging center for black DP's destined for a life of misery and shame.

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[1] Erwin Knoll, "The Truth About Desegregation in the Washington, D. C., Public Schools," *The Journal of Negro Education* 28:92-113, No. 2, Spring, 1959.

[2] G. Roberts, Jr., "Negro Education for What?," *New York Times Magazine*, November 19, 1961, p. 26.

[3] See Clemmont E. Vontress, "Patterns of Segregation and Discrimination: Contributing Factors to Crime Among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 31:108-116, No. 2, Spring, 1962.

[4] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 183.

[5] Knoll, *op. cit.*

In spite of steps toward school integration, the majority of Negro children will continue to attend all-Negro schools located in all-Negro neighborhoods.[6] These schools serve the cramped victims of residential segregation. Overcrowded all-Negro areas constitute cultural Siberias, stifling educational initiative. In general, the conditions under which Negro children are expected to receive an "equal" education are demoralizing to parents, teachers, and administrators, not to mention the children themselves.

Demoralized Parents

Criticism of the apparent indifference of Negro parents toward education and the public schools is demoralizing to those criticized. Educators lament that homes are not measuring up to their original responsibility. Parents and children who are seldom at home at the same time have become strangers. Home has become a rest-stop where family members fill up, rest up, clean up, and are off again. Mothers and fathers are remiss in disciplining their children and in encouraging them to study. This analysis of the home situation, although accurate in many cases, is unfortunate, for it seemingly absolves schools of further responsibility. Further, in failing to delimit the problem, it distorts the truth. Middle-class homes whose goals and aspirations are compatible with those of middle-class oriented schools have not abdicated their responsibility, for the most part. Urban-suburban population shifts have created socio-racial stratifications which now force into bold relief thousands of victimized lower-class Negroes who, because of continued psychological isolation from the dominant group, are cultural strangers.

In general, lower socio-economic families are characterized by material deprivation and low standards of conduct. Although they are many-generation Americans, their culture is not the dominant culture; it is lacking in stimulating content, for they have suffered their outsider status so long in so many ways. High proportions of their children began school with little on which to build a good education.[7] Language differences and the verbal problems children experience can be illustrated by the second-grader who dejectedly reported, "Ma, I ain't going to school any more."

"Why not?" inquired her mother.

"Cause it ain't no use. I can't never learn to spell. The teacher keeps changing the words on me all the time."

Lack of familiarity with the language of the school and its textbooks is handicapping to slum children. In this respect the child is not unlike his parents, who also find it difficult to understand and communicate with those who seek to change their offspring. Teachers, both Negro and white, represent another culture. They dress differently, talk differently, think differently, and appreciate differently. Negro parents come to look upon them as partially responsible for their hunger, pain, and entrapment in the ghetto. They are especially suspicious and critical of Negro teachers, who they feel are in cahoots with whites seeking to further confuse, deny, and suppress them.

It should not be supposed, however, that all slum parents are alike. Some are victims of what Galbraith[8] calls "case poverty." They are too lazy, drunk, or mentally deficient to care what happens to their children. Demoralized and frustrated out of debauchery or ignorance, they are quick to blame anyone but themselves for their unfortunate situation. Often looking upon their children as unanticipated although appreciated commodities, they may connive to keep them out of school to help "keep the family going." On the other hand, parents who are victims of "insular poverty" are cognizant of what is happening to them; but they are powerless to combat the forces that confuse and ensnare their lives.[9] Indeed, it would be a shock to some of the whites who criticize the conditions in which many Negroes live to find out that the people most dissatisfied with slum conditions are the people who live in them, who are entombed in ghettos in a caste of pigmentation. Parents representative of this group try to provide for their brood but are powerless to overcome the negative forces operating against them. Women without husbands work long, hard, monotonous hours to afford bare necessities for their offspring. They would like to be more active in the PTA, but their lack of time and energy deny them the opportunity. Often their status in society results in a lack of appreciation for middle-class values, including education. Thus they feel little allegiance to the school and have little faith in what it can do for their children, since it has meant so little in their own lives.

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[6] Loren Miller, "Home, Sweet Segregated Home," *The Journal of Negro Education* 28:142-144, No. 2, Spring, 1959.

[7] Robert W. Smuts, "The Negro Community and the Development of Negro Potential," *The Journal of Negro Education* 26:456-465, No. 4, Fall, 1957.

[8] John K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1958, p. 325.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 326.

Why Negro Teacher Morale Is Low

Added to the educational impotence of slum schools is the demoralization of many teachers who staff them. In major Northern cities, most Negro teachers, regardless of qualifications, are shuttled off to teach in ghetto schools. Denied an opportunity to come in contact with the full range of learning abilities, many of them become tired, discouraged, and disgruntled.[10] To them school is not an enthusiastic learning center where everybody is academically alert, where people desire to learn something now because it is worth knowing. Instead, it is a place where a major part of the teacher's time must be devoted to maintaining discipline among children who never before have known it. Thus it is often felt that years of excellent preparation go for naught.

There are other reasons why the morale of Negro teachers is often low. Many of them did not plan to teach in the first place; they were forced by discrimination into this traditional Negro white-collar job.[11] Through their education and associations many have become psychologically "white" and are repelled by having to work and rear their children in segregated communities. In many cases, they send their own children to other schools, because of the obvious deficiencies of the schools in which they teach or because they fear the influences of lower-class children on their own. Further, Negro teachers are frequently very sensitive to and critical of their Negro administrators who must play "both ends" (kow-towing to white superiors while appeasing and engineering co-workers) to insure the smooth operation of the school.

In general, Negro teachers appear to be ambivalent toward all-Negro schools. Many express disappointment over the performance of their students. Others, becoming defensive of their schools, keep from students and parents the fact that all-Negro schools are inferior to those where white children go. Holding their white counterparts in high esteem, they often feel that it is prestigeful to teach in predominantly white schools.[12] Few, however, leave the comfort and security of their own race even when the opportunity is available.

The challenges of slum schools call for better teaching. "Better teaching" implies enthusiasm and willingness to experiment and to grow on the part of the teacher. If Negro children continue to receive an inferior education in inner-city schools, it is not because Negro teachers do not measure up to white teachers, as Carmichael[13] boldly stated in 1956; rather, it is because shuttled-off teachers are discouraged and disgusted with the practice of assigning Negro teachers to all-Negro or predominantly Negro schools. Although they have not quit on the job, they are seriously demoralized. Integrating teachers now may help to arrest this creeping lethargy. The interests and attitudes of white and Negro teachers can be shared. The elimination of this ethnic educational in-breeding on the faculty level should also revive interest in learning on the part of students. They will see integration in action and may soon come to rededicate themselves to striving for achievement in spite of their race.

The Negro Principal: Man in a Trap

To assume that the principal of the slum school is less demoralized than parents and teachers is to be unaware of the facts. The Negro principal must respond to the expectations of the superintendent, who is generally white, and to his teachers, who are usually Negro. This dual responsibility creates an ethnic dilemma for him. If he responds to the expectations of the superintendent and neglects those of his co-workers, he may incur severe criticism from his teachers and the wider community as well, since teachers assume many roles outside the classroom.

The responsibility entrapment causes many top-level administrators to exculpate themselves while giving pupils and parents a false impression of what they are getting for their money.[14] Fearful of criticism from superiors, Negro school administrators are often more interested in presenting a "good front" than they are in ascertaining the real capabilities of their students and teachers.[15] This, in part, may be why slum schools have become harbors of incompetent teachers and prisons for inept students. Principals often stock-pile passionate and vituperative replies to hurl at those who imply that their students do not measure up.[16] They thus dilly-dally away precious psychological time and expend vital energy defending "Negro Education," thereby falling into a snare set by the white power structure seeking to contain the Negro student in separate schools.

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[10] Martin Mayer, "How Alive Is Your High School?" *Seventeen* 22:120-3, February, 1963.

[11] Omar Carmichael, "Is Voluntary Integration the Answer?," *U. S. News and World Report* 4:46-50, October, 1956.

[12] Willard E. Gandy, "Implications for Integration for the Southern Teacher," *The Journal of Negro Education* 31:191-197, No. 2, Spring, 1962.

[13] Carmichael, *op. cit.*

[14] L. W. Jones, "Social Unreadiness of Negro Youth," *Saturday Review* 45:81-83, October, 1962.

Especially frustrating to the Negro principal is the often ill-defined role of the white subject-matter supervisors who work within the school, but who are under direct supervision of the superintendent. While this ambiguous situation is disconcerting to most principals, it is especially obnoxious to the Negro principal, who may feel surrounded by white spies who may cost him his job. To say that the principal of an all-Negro slum school has a difficult job is to put it mildly.

The Position of the Student

Let us now look for a moment at the position of the student. The typical slum school, although located in the inner-city, is still middle-class oriented. Its goals are therefore antithetical to the focal concerns of the youth it serves. Having to meet the expectations of this educational institution for over one-half of their waking hours is frequently intolerable. Their own poverty and the resultant necessity to work part-time, their lack of privacy at home, and the remoteness of school-set goals prevent them from concentrating on study. The longer they stay in school the more discouraged they become. Many who do not become truant merely sit out their lessons, stolidly awaiting the drone of the bell and their release from suffering. Others, finding self-restraint no longer possible, express themselves in the only way they know how—through toughness, smartness, and excitement, thereby envoking immediate condemnation from their captors.

Students who are able to meet the expectations of the school are often unwilling to put forth the effort, for they are aware that an education is likely to be useless. Even with a college education, they may be forced to drive municipal buses, bell-hop, wait tables, or work in post offices. Seeing no escape from the racial trap, they look forward not to more education but to adult work and marriage.

Students who want more education may recognize that the academic odds are against them. Their unfamiliarity with the official language in which most tests are written is a barrier to qualifying for competitive college scholarships, most of which are based on test scores. It was reported that in 1956 not a single Negro was among the 5,000 or so winners or runners-up in the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test.[17] Although a great deal of work has been done to indicate the cultural bias of tests, this method of determining who shall get college scholarships is likely to continue for some time.

The explosive character of the inner-city situation is easy to see. Youngsters no longer able to withstand the confinement of classrooms are roving the streets night and day looking for their kind of excitement—crime and destruction. To them, nothing is inviolable. Incapable of achieving in school and unsuccessful in finding work, wandering dropouts often live by the code, "Fair is foul, and foul is fair." Stealing, destroying, assaulting, they do not or cannot conform to the expectations of the dominant society.

Citizens, associating idleness with norm-violating behavior, have become concerned over the alarmingly high dropout rates among teen-agers. Parents, teachers, and community leaders often hurl accusations and recriminations at each other. Although disagreement abounds on the dropout question, there is a general consensus that since youngsters without a high-school diploma are locked out of the labor market, the best place for them is in school, even though many cannot read or write well enough to achieve a modicum of success. If they are different as a result of their impoverished background, they should be treated differently, some propose. Advocates of this approach say that vocational training programs designed to meet the employment opportunities in the community should be provided.[18] However, this viewpoint has come under attack by educators who view automation with increasing alarm. They maintain that traditional vocational training will serve neither the interests of the economy nor the Negro. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers are being replaced rapidly by machines. Moreover, to provide a special kind of education for minority youth is to make more rigid the caste which they and their parents have known for so long. In the American society, integration means competition, and successful competition requires equal education. Without it, true equality in other areas will never be realized.

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Stanley E. Ballinger, "Of Testing and Its Tyranny," *Phi Delta Kappan* 44:176-180, No. 4, January, 1963.

[18] James B. Conant, "False Education for Many Slum Children?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, 79:6, January, 1962.

MUCH TO BE DONE—QUICKLY

IF we intend to do more than continue the make-believe of educating countless slum children who will eventually become wards of the state, much has to be done and done quickly. The slum community must be mobilized to exert whatever resources may be there. Parents must be taught to demand quality education. This means demanding quality teachers, administrators, and school board members. To compensate for the poor state of affairs in slum schools, more money must be spent on them than on schools which serve middle-class communities. Teachers should be given incentive pay for teaching in slum schools. How else are quality teachers to be kept in run-down inner-city schools?

At the school level, teachers and administrators must work to win back alienated parents, who have come to associate schools with the "they" in their lives, the people who somehow determine what happens to them. If parents will not come to school—and there is some reason to believe that they will not—the school must go to them. "Education Appreciation" workshops may be set up in neighborhood churches, regardless of denomination or the state of repair of the church. The main thing is to make contact and gain the psychological leverage for social action. Parents must learn that education is the salvation for themselves and for their children.

Negro educators who continue to defend "Negro Education" should examine their positions carefully. Would it not be more fruitful to stand up for quality education instead? Negro education teeters on excuses; quality education competes on equality.

The slum school curriculum needs re-examination. Special attention must be given to the teaching of reading, since it is impossible to learn without being able to read. All teachers must become teachers of reading.

Since the slum child's world has been devoid of books, the whole school must become a library. Every classroom should have its own library, not locked in clear-glass bookcases but readily available on open shelves. Children must be able to find books on any subject which is of even the slightest interest to them.

An examination of the curriculum is incomplete until teachers have taken a look at themselves. The importance of this is realized if it is accepted that the Negro child needs to develop a sense of identity, a pride in being Negro, in being black. If the teacher himself is anxious about being Negro, he is an ineffective purveyor of faith, courage, and pride in being Negro. The school curriculum must help the child discover who he is and what he is. A course in Negro history may be effective in helping the student acquire a historical frame of reference. A course in the psychology of adjustment may be an immediate way to heal wounded personalities, bleeding from self-pity, shame, and a lack of courage to achieve.

Guidance counselors are needed in greater numbers in slum schools. If the counselor-student ratio in the average middle-class school is 1:300, it should be 1:150 in the slum school. The Negro child is alienated from himself, from the school, and from those who remind him of himself. He needs to find identity in a white world. Coming from predominantly matriarchial homes, Negro boys and girls grow from the experience of a counseling relationship.

There are many pressing social needs indeed, but none seems nearly so important as searching for ways to give slum boys and girls a reason for staying in school.

Dropout Study in Syracuse Schools

► Of the 565 dropouts from Syracuse schools in 1959-60, 61 per cent had IQ scores of 90 or above. Thirty per cent of the boys and 24 per cent of the girls had scores of 100 or better. But 90 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls were retarded at least a year in their grade placement. Twenty-seven per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls had court delinquency records prior to age 16. The total dropout rate was 5.4 per cent. Fifty-five per cent were boys. The largest number dropped out during the eleventh grade. These and other data are reported in *The School Dropout Problem: Syracuse*, available for 50¢ from the Syracuse Univ. Youth Development Center, 404 Comstock, Syracuse 10, N.Y.

Allport: Racial Demonstrations Healthy

► Racial demonstrations in America are basically a sign of good national emotional health, psychologist Gordon Allport told the American Psychological Association recently. Negroes have seen their goal and are "running for home," Dr. Allport said, explaining that "running for home" is a popular expression of the psychological concept known as the "goal gradient." According to this theory, the subject in an experiment speeds up when approaching his goal. Increased racial demonstrations represent this "stepping on the accelerator" in the reach for the goal of making color irrelevant. There must be clear focus on next steps and how to implement them, he said, in order to minimize the danger of riots and violence.

By SAMUEL TENENBAUM

The Teacher, The Middle Class, The Lower Class

I LIVE on the West Side of Manhattan in a rather solid middle-class house with doorman and all. My neighbors have been complaining for a long time that the neighborhood has been running down. But the building I live in has held like a bastion, a strong fifteen-story fortress. My neighbors felt safe and protected once within its high walls, until a hotel on the opposite side of the street began to be used by the city relief agency to house indigent families. The hotel, a great affair, once magnificient, in bygone days probably catered to people of substance. This is the way, I suppose, of an American city. It represents the great human flow and ebb, the tidal waves of a dynamic culture that pushes people and fortunes around endlessly.

But this is not really my story. I meant to speak of how these lower-class people affected us, the middle-class people in our house; and what I myself learned in terms of my own feelings as a teacher. If I am a little roundabout, forgive me.

First of all, in what seemed almost overnight (and in actuality was not more than a month), this once great hotel was seething with life and ferment and energy. This comparatively quiet block took on all the aspects of a slum block and some of the aspects of a perpetual carnival. Hordes of children, like milling cattle, cluttered the once empty street; children of all ages, from one year to—well, they looked like eighteen and twenty. Boys and girls mixed in packs, and it was difficult to think of them as single, individual children. They shouted, they screamed, they pushed, they fought. In the midst of play, they would suddenly get into individual fights and collective fights. Violence, aggression, play, and friendliness seemed all mixed up. Every wall on the block was used, either to play ball on or to throw things on. The streets became cluttered with debris, especially broken glass. Where they got all the glass to break is beyond me. The area around this hotel became one vast accumulation of litter. Also, it was quite common for children to throw things from the windows at passersby. The parents apparently did not object, for I never saw a parent reprimand a child for this. The children resembled an uncontrolled, undisciplined herd, doing what they wished, with neither mother nor father in sight to curb, admonish, or chastise. In fact, when these lower-class children moved in, some of the motherly women in our building occasionally attempted to discipline a child, invariably with

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frightening results. A cluster of febrile humanity arose like spontaneous combustion to repel the invader, and these well-intentioned women felt lucky if they escaped unharmed. Such incidents only increased my neighbors' sense of helplessness and fear. In the end, my middle-class neighbors, through painful experience, learned to look on aloofly and distantly as children of six and seven smoked and young boys and girls openly engaged in physical contact. Attracted by such scenes, almost glued to them, these neighbors of mine expressed by bodily demeanor and by speech their shock and disapproval.

The parents of the children themselves acted strangely. In all states of undress, they hung out of windows, while below mixed adult groups, and groups including children, congregated, drinking beer, joshing, pushing each other about and carrying on in a merry and boisterous way through all hours of the night.

The tenants of our building, guarded more carefully than ever by doormen, made it a point never to loiter outside (which seemed to them a confession of idleness and lack of industry). They were in the habit of going in and out of the building with scarcely anyone seeing or hearing them; they were quiet, inconspicuous, and rarely communicated with neighbors, even though they may have lived together for a quarter of a century.

In contrast, the welfare families lived outside, on the street, conspicuously, loudly, openly. Their social life centered almost exclusively around those who happened to live in the same building. That did not mean it was a serene kind of neighborliness. We never knew when a fist fight or some loud fracas would start and it was not unusual for the occupants of our building to be awakened by a horrible commotion—even the firing of bullets—at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. Some of my neighbors were infuriated by such behavior and indignantly called the police, demanding that something be done immediately.

There was one type of behavior, however, that affected my neighbors beyond all others. I cannot say that they liked to see children smoking or engaged in open sex play; it violated their sense of morality. But they could somehow stand that. What they couldn't stand, what frightened them, was the violent, hostile way in which lower-class families found their amusement. An almost palpable atmosphere of aggression and violence hovered over the street. The children would attack an automobile—literally attack it as locusts attack a field—climb on top of it, get inside, and by combined, co-operative effort shake and tug until they left it a wreck. The older men would strip the tires from a car and sell them. A three-wheeled delivery bicycle from a local merchant provided a special holiday. The children gathered from nowhere and everywhere, piled on the delivery bicycle, and drove it up and down the street loaded down with humanity. When they made no dent in the vehicle by this misuse, in disgust they poked at it and pushed it in an effort to make it come apart. I have never seen young people work so assiduously as they did riding, pushing, and shaking the cart. They didn't give up until it was completely destroyed. I have seen children, several of whom could not have been more than seven or eight years old, at this job of destruction past 10 p.m.; and they all appeared to be having the merriest time. Even their innocent, friendly play was violent. Suddenly, strong, tall, gangling adolescent boys would dash pell-mell down the street, like stampeding cattle, shrieking and screaming, pushing, shoving, mauling each other.

Of course, this hotel where they lived was not meant for families with many children. Since it was enormous in size, at least fifteen stories high, it probably represented the most concentrated slum of all times, greater than could possibly prevail in Harlem. You might say as I did: "What can you expect? Children have to play. Here they are growing up without a mother, or a mother who never seems to make her presence felt, like animals, without love or warmth, pushing out for some sort of life on the street. Are not these unfortunate children more sinned against than sinning?"

So I spoke to my neighbors. Yet I knew that was not the whole truth. Nearby, within a few blocks, were two magnificent parks: Riverside Drive and Central Park. There they could have green fields and space and freedom. Yet none made a move to play there. Although I believe I understand many other facets of their conduct, this aspect remains a mystery I cannot fathom.

BROADLY, this gives you some notion of what happened to a quiet, respectable block when invaded by the lower classes. What happened to my neighbors? First there was general, immediate, universal consternation and some took direct action. Posthaste some moved out; they wouldn't live, they said, with such trash. A second group remained. This group didn't mind the shenanigans, the broken glass, the commotion, but they experienced an awful fear of personal attack. Many of them became so frightened by the invaders that they stayed home at night. The sense of physical peril was probably the most frightening and demoralizing aspect of the situation, though I never heard of anyone being molested or attacked.

There was a great deal of damage to parked cars, and we soon learned to avoid that side of the street. It was peculiar to see the gaping empty spaces near the hotel curb, when all around were cars choking for an inch of space.

After the first shock had passed, the tenants of our building took action. The middle class is not without power, which it exercises in its own way (generally of course polite, proper, and without violence). A committee got up a petition and collected signatures asking that a policeman be stationed on our street twenty-four hours a day. A tenant with political connections began to put them to work. I hear that the matter has reached the mayor himself, and that the welfare agency plans to remove families with children from the hotel since, after the petition, the Powers-That-Be agreed that it is an improper place for them.

But these lower-class people are still across the street and the fear remains. Even worse, my middle-class neighbors are convinced that these new people are trash, some monstrous excretion of mankind, a lower order of animal, apart from the human species. So long as such attitudes persist, these unfortunate newcomers—poverty-stricken, ignorant, addicted to vice, drink, violence, and brutality—will never be understood in terms of what causes such living: their bleak, helpless, and hopeless state, their lack of identity and purpose. My middle-class neighbors will piously continue to stay aloof, judging them; and this judgmental attitude itself makes the gulf wider. It is inconceivable that our middle-class house will ever join in friendship or good will to these lower-class invaders.

WHAT I was witnessing had enormous meaning for me as a student of education and as one who teaches future teachers. I thought I knew the problem of the lower-class student; it is all explained in the textbook. Like other instructors, I have discussed the problem in polite, academic terms. But this experience made me see clearly and vividly, as nothing else has, how far-fetched and remote is our present school system for these children—in philosophy, methodology, approach, values, and meaning.

In contrast to the lower-class children, how preciously kept is each child in our house; how carefully clothed; how carefully guarded; how often admonished by parents, grandparents, relatives, and friends. In the elevator, the icy tone of the father to his seven-year-old son: "Is that hat glued on to your head, John?" How quickly and politely that hat comes off. How often are they shown pride and love. "My son is the valedictorian of his class. He plans to go to Harvard, get his Ph.D., and teach chemistry." Even our doorman, hard and brusque and violent with lower-class children, takes on a different tone and manner with the building children; to them he is gentle and tender and protective. The children themselves for the most part are loving and lovable. As they imbibe attention and love, as these qualities are poured into them, they have them to give out. If at times the children become rambunctious, the doorman finds it sufficient to threaten them with parental disclosure and they fall in line. There is no discipline problem. From infancy on, they experience discipline.

These children have pride and are conscious of family position. Even if you are a stranger, they will inform you that their father, a lawyer, is involved in some famous current trial; or he has been called to Washington on an important mission; or that their father or grandfather owns this well-known establishment or business. And they tell you with equal pride what they themselves plan to be; and they act as if they have already achieved it and have a right to all the honors thereof.

On school holidays our building takes on a festive air as the children come home from out-of-town schools and colleges. You see a little boy with a ramrod figure sporting a magnificent uniform; he attends a military academy. Parents take special pride in introducing children all around. For these holidays parents have a well-planned schedule—theaters, lunches downtown, visiting and inter-visiting, parties that their children give and parties that they go to. The building is full of young people coming and going; it is really most pleasant and exciting.

Yes, the children in this middle-class building are solicitously nurtured. Just as the parents seem to have purpose and direction for themselves, so the children seem also to have imbibed purpose and direction. Some of them, still in elementary school, speak of college and careers. Coming home in the afternoon, they hold their books tightly and neatly; for it is obvious that for them books represent important and powerful tools for the future.

What a stark contrast are these children on the opposite side of the street! These children seem to have no purpose, no objective; they seem to live for the moment, and the big objective is to make this moment pass away as amusingly and excitingly as possible. And no matter what, they seem a lot more bored and idle than the middle-class children. They hang around, in gangs or small groups, and in boredom they poke at one another or get into mischief; they are ready for any or everything, but mostly nothing happens and there they are, hanging around in idleness.

Even when playing near the house, the children in our building go to the parks already referred to, and they participate in organized games, or if not, they telephone to a friend or friends to meet and play together. In contrast, the children on the opposite street have many of the characteristics of neglected alley cats, growing up in a fierce, hostile jungle. The children from the two sides of the street never mix. Since the invasion of this new element, the children in our building are more closely supervised than ever; they are so apart in thinking and feeling that functionally they are like two different species.

As I saw these two groups first-hand, I understood how easily middle-class children fit conventional school systems; how almost from infancy they have been trained for the role of a good, conforming member of this institution; and how easily and naturally their middle-class teachers would respond with understanding and affection.

Also, I could see how wrong, how incongruous and meaningless this school was for lower-class children; how their very being was an irritant to it, and it to them; how ill-prepared they were for the demands of the school; how what they were and how they lived would elicit from their middle-class teachers scorn, resentment, rejection, hostility, and—worst of all—how these children would create in their teachers fear, a physical, sickening fear, as thirty or forty of them crowded together in one room hour after hour, day after day. This was the most demoralizing feature of all. For once fear sets in, you can no longer understand, appreciate, or help; what you want is distance, separation, safety; or if this is impossible, you want the backing of superior strength or a counter fear; and one cannot educate or help another human being through force or fear.

As I thought of what was happening to my block, I was astonished to realize how in nearly all respects our teachers respond to lower-class children just as my house neighbors do. They cannot understand their idleness, their purposelessness, their lack of ambition. They regard such traits as some congenital evil. Like my neighbors, they are indignant and shocked by their sexual frankness, and are astonished and chagrined by parental indifference to children's progress in school. When parents do come to school they may even side with the child against the teacher. Like my neighbors, teachers remain in a perpetual state of fear of these children, at their acting out, their defiance of discipline, their destructiveness and vandalism. "Look at what they did!" a teacher will say, pointing to a desk ripped open or shattered panes of glass, speaking as if some holy altar had been violated. Looking at these lower-class children distantly, unapprovingly, and judgmentally, as my neighbors did, many teachers feel trapped, frightened, helpless. Like my neighbors, when a child gets into trouble with the law, they often take a smug satisfaction in the tragedy, as if their original judgment had been vindicated. "I knew he would come to a bad end." Middle-class virtue is written all over them.

A GOOD case can be and has been made that the only purpose of our educational system is to inculcate middle-class values, to create a middle-class person; and its purpose is not at all to transmit knowledge and subject matter. If this is true, and I am beginning to feel that it is, the main task of our schools, to repeat, is to train children in the proprieties, the conventions, the manners, the sexual restraints, the respect for private property of the middle class; and also to promote such middle-class virtues as hard work; sportsmanship, and ambition—especially ambition. The aim becomes to create a gentleman, a person striving for high achievement, so that he can attain the middle-class ideal: money, fame, a lavish house in the suburbs, public honors, etc.

I now perceive more clearly why lower-class children are such problems in school, why they do so poorly, why they are so alien to this institution, why they stand out like sore thumbs. Bluntly put, they don't fit in at all with what the schools and teachers demand, want, and expect.

I now understand why even bright lower-class children do not do nearly as well in school as middle-class children of equal and even lower ability; why bright lower-class children drop out of school even when intellectually capable of doing the work. They never feel part of the institution, their school is not theirs, their team is not theirs, their classmates are not theirs.

Just as the children in my building did not mix with the children on the hotel side of the block, so they do not mix in school. But here in school middle-class children are on home ground; it is *their* school, *their* teachers, *their* clubs, *their* team, *their* classmates. Parents of lower-class children also feel strange and remote from the institution, frightened by its conventions. Sometimes a lower-class child, through the influence of some good, loving, middle-class person, generally a teacher, begins to aspire to middle-class status. The parents, instead of reinforcing middle-class values, may resent these new feelings in the child and fear that he is being alienated from them; they will try to keep the child in their own class. I know a fine and able student who applied for a scholarship and was accepted by a prestige college. Her father, a laborer, was incensed at the whole idea. We were turning his daughter's head. A good girl should get a job, come home, help her mother, and get married. When he was told that college and marriage are not incompatible, he showed every doubt that the two go together. Then he took another tack. Deep study in college, he said, affects the head, and his daughter had fragile health; he didn't want her to become rattle-brained. Finally, he trotted out his last argument: he wasn't going to have his daughter gallivanting off and mixing with those snobs and good-for-nothings. The father won out.

It also happens, undoubtedly with greater frequency in America than in any other major culture, that a lower-class child does break out of his group to enter the middle class. A play, "The Corn Is Green," deals with this theme. It is the true account of a Welsh boy whose teacher, Miss Cooke, out of dedication and devotion, held the youth steadfast in his studies. After many trials, the young man passed his examinations and won an Oxford scholarship. The son of a nursemaid and a seaman, he became an eminent playwright, actor, and director, and, incidentally, the author of "The Corn Is Green."

It sometimes happens that a member of the middle class will flunk out of his class also, although this is quite rare, as a review of your own experience will indicate. Middle-class parents will go to any extreme to save their children for middle-class status. How would an eminent and respected professional person regard his son who worked as a janitor or as a laborer, although the young man might be quite happy with his work and the work right for him? Middle-class parents attempt all kinds of shenanigans to keep their offspring in their class. We all know of the student who fails at a good university, whereupon the parents find a mediocre school where he can obtain the degree. The parents rejoice, for the boy is now a college graduate; he has achieved middle-class status and need not disgrace the family.

I AM beginning to feel that if we want to help lower-class children we will have to reorient our thinking and philosophy. We will have to adopt fundamental reforms, radical and crucial in nature, so that the school as an institution will be more nearly in conformity with the cultural and behavioral patterns of this class. I am beginning to think that it might be best if we would enlist in this task the more able and brighter lower-class members, with the hope that they will be better able to cope with the lower-class child. Little good can come to any child when a teacher relates to him with fear and condemnation.

What has long been a national fetish, almost religious in fervor, is the effort to shape all children, regardless of their state or condition, in the middle-class mold. It would appear that the chief end of man is to glorify the middle class. When teachers fail at this task, they regard themselves and the school as failures. I believe that until now we have done a remarkable job in converting this "melting pot" material into a sort of middle-class stew, although frequently of questionable taste and quality.

I raise this question: Should all people strive to become middle-class? Hasn't our middle-class culture produced a society with more than its share of tensions, anxieties, neuroses, and psychoses? How many souls have been blighted, twisted, and distorted by its impossible demands! Middle-class culture, it is true, stresses ambition and achievement, but does it not leave altogether too many of us feeling and thinking of ourselves as failures, even when we have striven mightily and have done our best? And how many, after high achievement, still feel discontented, unhappy, striving ever higher? For there is no end goal to achievement; the goal is almost by definition unattainable. As a clinical psychologist who has seen men and women in travail, I can only say that I have nothing but sympathy for the middle-class child; the demands made on him by parents and his sub-culture are often unbearable. I think of him as frequently caught in a vortex, the victim of uncontrollable forces, so strong that they may destroy him.

In our sanctimonious way, we have assumed that this, our middle-class culture, represents the best of all possible worlds. We have never examined lower-class culture with the view of asking: Is there perhaps something in another way of life to alleviate our own sickness? Like my house neighbors, we have regarded every deviation with moral condemnation. Even if all these feelings about middle-class values are right, even if we should continue to force lower-class children into middle-class molds, shouldn't we recognize that for some children this can never be achieved? It isn't for them, as a duck isn't for running a race with a rabbit. In this world isn't there a need and an honorable place for carpenters, plumbers, and, yes, laborers? Aren't we doing infinite harm to children by our insistence that they be something they cannot be, and then making them feel like failures because they have not achieved what they cannot achieve? Wouldn't it be better if we found out what they *can* be, and then set about changing our schools so that we can help them, not to become middle-class, but to become the best selves they are capable of becoming?

Alienated Youth Here and Abroad

Youth in many parts of the world is today a surplus commodity. As nature abhors a vacuum, so young people loath their in nihilo status. Their energy explodes in destruction and delinquency. The only answer is for society again to find a responsible role for its youth, says Mr. Kvaraceus. Here he describes promising efforts in many lands.

By WILLIAM C. KVARACEUS

ONE of the most hazardous occupations in developed and developing countries today is to be a youth. Whether the youngster is still sitting in school or now standing around the street corner as a recent dropout, he faces the double jeopardy of exile and irrelevancy.

With the steady and conclusive shift from farm and rural culture to urbanized and technological society, youth's importance and function have diminished to the point where youth now represents, in many parts of the world, a surplus commodity on a glutted market. Lacking any important role or function, youth faces the problem of growing up in exile or, worse, *in nihilo.* The disengagement or alienation is *both* from *self* and from *society.* It runs across the complete spectrum of class stratification and is as serious in the middle classes as in the lower-class groupings. And it will not be solved by the compulsory classroom to which we attach some artificial or belated work experience via the Youth Employment Act of 1963 now before Congress.

Automation, with its elimination of routine chores that once depended upon youthful hands, labor laws written in the spirit of safeguarding children and youth, and labor unions organized to protect the adult worker have all combined to diminish the need for strong young hands and minds. Even the compulsory classroom extending now through the teen-age years has tended to shunt young learners from the main stream of social, civic, and economic life-activity of family and community, thereby retarding the process whereby youth join the adult world. In a sense youth now experience an organized isolation from the regular community. The results can be seen in a youth stigmatized, infantilized, down-graded, and disengaged. Today's major youth problem centers around the need to regain a sense of self-respect and self-worth. Modern youth are shut out and shelved for deferred purposes; they have been forced to accept the status of second-class citizenship; they are a minority group disfranchised and exploited; they have been significantly omitted from our sessions here today both as passive listeners and as active participants, and their absence may be considered as a part of our adult pathology.

Just as nature abhors a vacuum, so do youth loath their *in nihilo* status. To be a nothing and a nobody, to be excluded from significant roles and tasks, to have little or no *raison d'etre,* to feel unneeded and unnecessary, to lack any voice or vote in important decisions concerning self, to be exiled for the life space of one's adolescence —all of this is hard, very hard indeed to take, especially when youth sees how badly adults around them are managing the business of the world.

It is doubly hard for youth when contrasted, for example, with the somewhat similar status of the aged and retired citizen who still retains the memory—if not the fire—of his youth as well as the right to cast his ballot. For youth, more than any other age group, has unbounded energy, wondrous imagination, unfolding intelligence, and a strong spirit of courage and self-determination; unfortunately these have all been diminished by a socially and economically induced low self-concept and by diffusion.

To prove themselves and to be heard, youth

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have frequently followed the delinquency routes in various parts of the world. But even the delinquencies of modern youth are dull and unimaginative. Studying the patterns and forms that delinquent behavior has taken in different countries, I have been struck by the lack of originality and the complete standardization of aberrant behavior. Even youthful delinquency lacks creativity.

Nevertheless, juvenile delinquency in all countries today reflects a heavy investment of initiative and youthful energies—but not for social-civic purpose. This spilling of energy gives a strong hint of the vast reservoir of unused power that is available and which could be tapped for social, civic, cultural, and economic betterment.

The critical youth question facing all nations today—and there are no exceptions—asks: "How can we stimulate youth activities to tap the vast reservoir of youthful energy, enthusiasm, initiative, and imagination for personal, social, and civic betterment?"

Alternatives to Restless, Empty Lives

There are many alternatives to the restless, uneasy, and empty existence to which most adolescents have been consigned in the urbanized and automatized technical world. What can be done by working with youth, when the adult approach is informed and trusting, has been amply demonstrated in many parts of the world by the system of Associated Youth Enterprises. These youth enterprises involve a mutual collaboration of the UNESCO apparatus with many international youth organizations and/or governments. Since the inception of this program in 1955 more than a hundred youth projects involving initiative and international understanding have been undertaken in all parts of the world.

The International Youth Hostel Federation, for example, joined with UNESCO to sponsor a youth hosteling expedition that recently returned to London after a six-month crusade to India and Pakistan via Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. This small band of young people, moving slowly and sometimes painfully in a motorized caravan, brought to various hostels films, sound recordings, and photographs on Western culture and collected similar materials for use and demonstration in Western countries. En route the group met with representatives of youth organizations, visited hostels, and discussed programs and problems with wardens, showed films and slides, and conducted interviews with press and radio.

This modern crusade of young people not only stimulated interest and assisted in the establishment of hostels linking Europe with Asia, but, more important, it promoted a better understanding between Orient and Occident.

Lately attention has been focused on assistance to emerging nations in Africa. An early cooperative youth endeavor tied UNESCO support to the Overseas Work Camp Program of the American Friends Service Committee on a Kenya work camp project operated by a number of Quaker organizations.

A group of six young men from different countries and a larger group of young workers from inside Kenya labored side by side in this project, which ran for two years. These young pioneers built huts for convalescents and constructed a part of a ward for tuberculosis patients under the Tuberculosis Rehabilitation Scheme organized by the Friends Hospital in Kaimosi. They also helped maintain a vegetable garden which provided light work for the patients and also served to feed them. At the same time, the project increased understanding by encouraging Africans and Europeans to live and work together in an atmosphere of harmony, self-help, and self-government.

In still another part of the world a student group focused on the problems of illiteracy. Participation of university students in combating illiteracy has been given high priority in the goals of the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students. A pilot project sponsored by the secretariat, the University of Bolivia, and UNESCO brought together fifty Bolivian students from eight universities. The experiment included a three-week seminar followed by an extended field operation high up on Oruro, 200 kilometers from La Paz, a mountain city of 185,000 inhabitants with an estimated illiteracy rate of 65 to 70 per cent.

These young students very quickly equipped themselves through a concentrated course of study and went into the field to try to apply what they had learned. A thousand illiterate workers from the mines and factories were contacted. Study groups of fifteen to twenty were scheduled to meet twice daily. Each student-teacher worked with one group. In addition to teaching reading and writing, these students also participated in a careful survey and diagnosis of the social, economic, and cultural factors associated with illiteracy and with the possible after-effects of reading instruction in a big city.

The phrase that I have heard more than any other in different countries and at various international conferences on youth is "initiative groups with social purpose." This phrase has more meaning and is closer to reality in Yugoslavia, Poland, and the USSR than in the United States. These Eastern countries take pride in reporting many examples of youth participation in important and productive activities on the political and labor fronts. For example, the voluntary labor contribution of young Yugoslavs in road building has resulted in a youth monument dedicated to national development—concrete evidence of youth's participation, involvement, and importance.

The same theme is put forth for the Pioneers and the Komsomol youth groups in the Soviet Union. Here the political involvement is very pronounced, but the underlying message of youth's importance and youth's anticipated contribution to the national cause are stressed and magnified, never underestimated or minimized. When the activities of these youth groups are compared with the programs of the YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, or the CYO, the American groups are differentiated by the fact that their energy investment is directed more to play than to work and the focus of activity is more often upon egocentric rather than on social-civic goals.

In the U.S. many communities have already moved to help youth help themselves. Here are a number of examples taken from one state—Massachusetts—that illustrate how schools and communities have included young people as worthy partners and citizens in their own right:

In the city of Newton, under Franklin Patterson, director of the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University, new educational and action approaches to modern youth have been tried out in a pilot program[1] aimed to help youth re-engage themselves in shaping the destiny of a free society. A summer program in public affairs, aimed to relate youth to their school, their community, and the issues of the larger world, was carried out with a small group of high-school eleventh-graders in 1961.

The general design of this experiment called for (1) intensive study of selected problems drawn from crucial socio-civic areas of modern life; (2) parallel study of representative problems of the community, using problem-solving approaches with data collected by the students themselves; (3) performance of needed work in school and community; (4) self-government: participation in the planning and management of the summer program; (5) participation in a rich and varied schedule, with enough time for learning in depth.

Through study, discussions, and planning these youth considered crises in race relations, crises in culture, crises in the community, and crises of war and peace, working out through this process the responsibilities of the educated citizen.

Field surveys of formal and informal activities and facilities available to community youth in evening hours were carried out. Several major work-service projects much needed by the community were undertaken, e.g., cleaning and repainting the Newton Community Center. Other valuable opportunities for study, work-service, and possible civic action centered on cleaning up and improving a thirty-three acre park in the center of the city. The boys and girls studied the physical resources and how they might be further improved and developed. They examined alternative policies and plans for the park and decided upon recommendations to be placed before the city government. For direct action, youth went to work to clean out and improve the abandoned trails which had been allowed to deteriorate for many years.

Through this summer experience boys and girls of high-school age were engaged in the study and solution of important community problems. Together they studied, planned, and engaged in work-service; together they participated in decision making and self-government.

Helping the Mentally Maimed

In two other communities, Arlington and Andover, high-school youth every Tuesday and Wednesday assist professional workers to care for the mentally maimed in a nearby Veterans Administration hospital. These boys and girls perform many different kinds of duties. They work with nurses and technicians in social service, manual arts therapy, the library, the pharmacy, and in occupational therapy. Other youngsters perform important tasks in dental laboratories and in the hospital's general offices. Through such service youth not only help out in the important task of aiding patients but they themselves profit by gaining insights in their own career development. They also acquaint themselves with the problems of those who are afflicted in mind and who may tomorrow return to the community to live a normal life.

Citizenship in Action programs include many youth in many communities under the supervision of Thomas J. Curtin, director of civic education, Massachusetts Department of Education. Wareham High School girls organized a Future Nurses Club to stimulate interest in nursing and to render community service through volunteer work in local hospitals. Students from the Wachusett Regional High School, working through their student council and Future Teachers of America, participated in the American Field Service Exchange Student Program. As a result, two exchange students from Indonesia and New Zealand visited the community and three local students presented their candidacy for the "Americans Abroad" phase of the program. Funds for these activities were raised by group action through various school events and a Bonds for Democracy drive. These youths plan to continue participation in projects for better international understanding.

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[1] Franklin Patterson, *Public Affairs and the High School.* Medford, Massachusetts: The Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1962, 43 pp.

Other students in North Andover produced a sound and color film about their high school in order to inform the citizens of the community and the members of each new entering class concerning its organization, procedures, and curriculum. The entire production, depicting school life and the overall program, was produced, directed, and financed by the students, assisted by faculty members. Through various activities the amount necessary for production ($500) was raised. Work on this project took a year and a half. Since its completion, the film has been shown to more than twenty organizations in the local area. These are but a few examples of youth initiative and involvement (for social purpose) in one state.

GIVE YOUTH RESPONSIBLE ROLE

THE explosive nature of isolated and immobilized youth is a common hazard in many big cities of the world today. Youthful energy, intelligence, and initiative can be turned either in the direction of destruction and delinquency or in the direction of constructive activity and creativity. These powers of youth cannot be contained for long in a vacuum. Youth must be released from their exiled status and from their enforced immaturity. Given a responsible role, youth have shown that they can, and they will, find their identity, their independence, and their destiny.

Model Youth Conservation Camp

► Ninety school dropouts in Indiana have recently undergone a two-month camp experience in what has been called a model youth conservation camp for the nation. Campers, all between 18 and 23 years of age, unemployed, and without criminal records, were paid $75 monthly, plus room and board. Sponsored by the Indiana Youth Council, Conservation Department, National Guard, Employment Security Division, and Department of Public Instruction, the camp is located on the site of a former Civilian Conservation Corps camp vacant for two decades except for brief use by a 4-H club. The camp has a National Guard colonel and a former principal as co-directors and offers a rigid work and study program with heavy emphasis on vocational education. The school program emphasizes development of basic skills, with a special reading program designed by Skill Center, Inc., of Chicago, since a reading handicap is the typical camper's largest problem.

Negro Aspiration, Achievement

► A career study of forty-six Negro high-school graduates in Washington fails to support the assumption that Negro achievement is limited by low aspiration. All of the subjects had professional aspirations at the time of high-school graduation, but five years later only seven had graduated from college, while eighteen others were still in attendance and seven others had had some college, four of whom intended to return for more. These above-average Negro high-school graduates had suffered frequent unemployment and underemployment. Most of the positions they were able to obtain, whether full-time or part-time, temporary or "permanent," were of the menial type traditionally open to Negroes. The study, by Eunice S. Grier, is available from the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington 6, D.C., for $3. A 24-page interpretive summary is distributed without charge.

Is Gang 'Rumble' Disappearing?

► The classic gang "rumble" seems to be on the way out.

The trend of juvenile gangs these days, reflected even in their fighting pattern, is towards a "sophistication," according to Saul Bernstein, professor of social work at Boston University.

Bernstein recently completed a seven-month study of anti-social delinquent teen-age groups of minority origin in poverty-stricken areas. Included in the study were nine major cities—Boston, New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Philadelphia.

By and large, Bernstein said, the gang tends to be less obvious today. Members seldom flaunt dark-colored jackets advertising who they are. Nor is the gang's name splashed on walls the way it used to be.

The fighting pattern particularly reflects this "cool" attitude, Bernstein said. Instead of the "rumble," in which opposing gang members met at a pre-arranged spot for a showdown, many gangs today indulge in "snagging." This consists of having a lookout member find a place passed daily by the rival gang member. Then five or six from the first group, all of whom may be quietly dressed, wait for him and methodically beat him up. Just as quietly, they return home, change their clothes, and go about their business. No show of power—no advertising—all "cool."

Bernstein feels that on the whole less violence characterizes these groups than used to be the case. This is due in part to the marshaling of community resources, particularly police activities, to help the youngsters find more interesting things to do. They are encouraged by youth agencies to participate in athletics, take trips, and hold dances.

Educating Culturally Deprived Youth in Urban Centers

A description of basic elements in attacks now gathering force in the great cities on one of the nation's foremost social problems.

By FREDERICK SHAW

THE number one problem faced by urban teachers today is how to offer culturally deprived youth an education that meets their needs. In 1950, about one child out of ten attending public schools in the nation's fourteen largest cities was culturally disadvantaged. In 1960, the proportion had risen to one of three. Some authorities believe that by 1970 it may be one out of two. These figures underscore the urgency of the problem.

The purpose of this article is to trace the origins of the problem, show how some of the nation's larger school systems are trying to handle it, and explore the issues involved.

In terms of sheer numbers, American population movements in the middle years of this century dwarf the tribal invasions of the early Middle Ages and the westward surge in American history. During the years 1940 through 1960, for example, more than twenty-six million people were added to the populations of the suburbs of our large cities. The entire country did not contain that many people in 1850.

By 1960, about 62 per cent of all Americans were concentrated in 212 "standard metropolitan areas." Such a region is defined by the Bureau of the Census as "one or more contiguous counties containing at least one central city of over 50,000 population as the core of an economically and socially integrated cluster of people." In more colorful language, these areas have been called a "galaxy of urban solar systems." The combined population of these metropolitan areas now exceeds 108 million inhabitants, and almost one-third of the nation now lives in suburban areas.

Suburb and central city, however, have not grown at the same pace. Between 1950 and 1960, the outskirts of our great cities grew by more than seventeen million, an increase of 47.2 per cent. At the same time, the central cores gained scarcely four million, only 8.2 per cent. Millions have deserted the central areas for the suburbs, seeking attractive homes and surroundings, more play space for children, and lower taxes. Those who left were usually in the above-average income brackets, for they could afford to buy a house and pay commuting costs. The poorer families, of course, were unable to build or purchase homes or rent "garden apartments."

At a result, some of our more affluent suburbs have tended to become homogeneous in economic status and occupation, and sometimes in ethnic background as well. Dan W. Dodson, professor of educational sociology at New York University, has pointed out the consequences of this selectivity. Suburbanites, he declared, lead an "antiseptic" way of life: "nice families, segregated into nice homes, away from the pollution of both industry and the heterogeneous masses of the inner city."

Economic homogeneity can operate most advantageously for a community's educational system, if its affluent citizens are school-minded and willing to tax themselves. Some of the best American school systems today are found in wealthy suburban areas. School districts near New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia have built up top-ranking systems. They have pioneered in teaching methods, school administration, and school architecture. Schools like these are sometimes called "lighthouse schools," because they serve as beacons to guide less favored communities in educational progress.

Who replaces suburban-bound citizens in the core cities? Throughout American history, the chief source of unskilled urban labor has been Europeans. Today, trans-Atlantic immigration has been reduced to a trickle, and the principal new-

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comers are natives of the Western hemisphere. Thousands of Puerto Ricans and Negroes from our Southern states have settled in such Northeastern cities as Newark and New York. Southern Negroes and Appalachian whites have migrated to Baltimore, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities in the Middle West. Mexican-American and reservation Indians have flocked to western cities, such as Oakland, California, and Phoenix, Arizona. Between 1950 and 1960, New York City lost about 1,300,000 middle-class whites, a population greater than that of Cleveland, Ohio. They were replaced by 800,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans, an underprivileged group larger in size than Washington, D. C. New York's experience in the Fifties was not typical in numbers, but it *was* characteristic of population shifts other major cities have experienced.

James B. Conant believes that the "very nature of the community determines what goes on in the school." The neighborhoods in which these immigrants settle are often characterized by bad housing, high population density, and a lack of privacy. Incomes tend to be low and uncertain, and many residents may be on public relief rolls. Most have limited vocational and economic competence and low social and economic expectancy. Not infrequently, the community lacks trained leadership. Crime rates are high and conditions ripe for juvenile delinquency. Cultural resources are minimal. Family patterns are disoriented.

Neighborhoods of this kind have a marked impact on their schools, for the children who live in such areas are poorly prepared and poorly motivated for formal education. Mel Ravitz, professor of sociology at Wayne State University, has explained why the conventional courses taught in urban schools often seem to have little relevance for them:

> Many of these children of the depressed areas come from home situations that are deplorable, where the primary need is for the services of a nurse, a dentist, a dietician, where there is abject poverty, where there is much physical overcrowding in poor housing, where many kinds of psychological problems beset members of the family. Often, too, the families are split, with the mother assuming responsibility for both parents. Even if the family is not split, the controls that once applied in the rural setting have been broken in an urban setting that is hostile, uncaring, anonymous, and which has forced the restructuring of the family. The parental images the children now see are images of despair, of frustration, and of enforced idleness. It is absurd, too, for a middle-class teacher to set these children down each day to try to focus their attention on ancient history or on the multiplication table or on nouns or verbs, when simple good common sense demands a concern with situations and circumstances under which these children live, conditions which they cannot ignore sufficiently to concentrate on what to them are really otherworldly matters.[1]

Research studies have consistently shown lower average IQ's among children in such depressed areas than those from more favored homes. Often scores on such tests decline as the children grow older. Here are the median scores in certain disadvantaged districts in New York City: grade one —95; grade three—92; grade six—87; grade eight—82.

Children from low socio-economic areas also tend to fall farther and farther behind their peers in achievement. In one large district in New York, the average child was found to be retarded one year in reading in the third grade, almost two years in the sixth, and two and one-half in the eighth.

These children often have great difficulties in personal adjustment. Delinquency is more concentrated, and destructive aggression more widespread in problem areas; psychoses and completely disabling breakdowns are disproportionately high. One reason is that they receive relatively little of the ego satisfaction, the rewards, and the feeling of belonging that society has to offer. Almost from the very beginning, however, many fail to master the conventional academic curriculum. This lowers their already shaky self-esteem. School dropouts are also highest among children from neighborhoods of this kind, and relatively few get to college.

Basically, these children have the same drives for achievement, recognition, and acceptance as their peers; but deficiencies in early experiences and in motivation, and frequently family and social difficulties as well, weight the odds against academic success. Often their parents work at jobs requiring little education, and the children get the impression that school is not particularly important in preparing them for life. These influences seem to weigh most heavily on the boys. In low socio-economic areas, they consistently score lower on intelligence tests and achievement tests than the girls.

Difficulties like these are further aggravated by the high turnover of newcomers in the schools. Children frequently shift from neighborhood to neighborhood and from school to school, disrupting their own schooling as well as the education of their less-traveled classmates.

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[1] Mel Ravitz, "The Role of the School in the Urban Setting: Depressed Areas." Paper delivered at Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas, Teachers College, Columbia University, July 2-13, 1962.

In Manhattan, where the pupil population of the elementary schools is higher than 76 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican, the mean mobility rate in a recent year was 51 per cent. In three schools that were almost completely Negro, the turnover was 100 per cent that year.

SOME authorities believe that the whole environment in these slum areas must be improved and that the schools must play a vital role in this endeavor. What they need is more special services, greater efforts to help pupils solve their personal problems, and a boost in their parents' cultural aspirations. This is precisely what the Great Cities Grey Areas School Improvement program and the Higher Horizons program have set out to do. Each will be discussed in turn.

The "great cities" include the fourteen largest public school systems in the country. Ten are now experimenting with the Grey Areas program, assisted by the Ford Foundation. Program aims are to help disadvantaged children in many ways: to raise their school achievement levels, to identify and help able youngsters, to raise the level of their aspirations, to equip them for modern urban life by developing their competencies, to increase parental responsibility, and to mobilize community support in their behalf.

It is worthwhile to focus briefly on the pilot project which began in the public schools of Detroit in 1959. Basic elements in the Detroit project are: 1) The classroom teacher's work is reinforced by assistance from specialized professional workers and smaller class size. 2) The school tries to show parents that education can open new doors to opportunity for their children, particularly if they are convinced this is possible and willingly cooperate. 3) The community is involved in upgrading the education of its children. 4) Additional funds are provided. Each of these elements will be discussed in turn.

1. *Reinforcing the teacher's work:* The classroom teacher is the kingpin of the educational process. Without effective teaching, no educational endeavor, whether conventional or pioneering, can succeed. That is why the following efforts were made to assist the teacher:

a. Competent consultants in the areas of education, social work, sociology, and psychology gave in-service courses, and local workshops on local school curricular problems were organized.

b. Each school involved in the project added three full-time specialized persons to its staff: a school-community agent, a visiting teacher, and a coaching teacher. The school-community agent acted as a liaison officer between community and school. He interpreted the school to the community and vice versa. Some community agents worked with block clubs, community councils, or parents' groups. Others took charge of after-school and evening programs for youth and adults. The visiting teacher was really a social worker. Trained in case work, she handled children and parents of children who had serious school-adjustment problems. The visiting teacher is no stranger to the Detroit schools, but normally serves several schools. In the Great Cities project, however, she was assigned full-time to a single school, thereby enabling teachers to make referrals of children with physical or emotional difficulties more readily. Finally, children with pronounced reading disabilities were referred to a coaching teacher, specially trained in language arts. She worked with small groups of five to fifteen children, helping them overcome reading deficiencies. She also helped train other teachers in this area.

2. *Involving parents:* It would be a mistake to consider parents in low socio-economic areas hostile to academic training. Many whose origins are rural, however, are indifferent or see relatively little need for it. Those eager to have their children well educated often lack formal schooling themselves and are unable to help.

The Detroit project attempted to involve parents in school activities in order to raise their educational and social aspirations for their children and give parents a better understanding of the educational process. First, free classes in such practical subjects as speech, shorthand, typing, sewing, and millinery were offered. Then refresher classes in reading and arithmetic were organized. This enabled the parents to help their children in school work. Other activities, such as clubs or courses in how to budget, prepare food, repair furniture, and become generally efficient in household tasks and family relations bolstered the parents' self-esteem and raised family aspirations.

3. *Community involvement:* In addition to organizing activities for parents, the schools included in the pilot project set up comprehensive programs of after-school and evening activities to serve the needs of the community. Some emphasized afternoon enrichment programs for youth; others, evening adult programs. In a sense they became real community schools. In addition, public and private agencies offered the help of their personnel and resources. The Neighborhood Service Organization of Detroit, for example, conducted day camps for fifty-five emotionally disturbed children from project schools during the summer of 1961. The YMCA and YWCA generously offered the use of their physical facilities

and carried on a variety of programs. The city's public libraries took children to distant libraries in "library caravans" by bus.

4. *Special appropriations:* The activities described above required more funds than are provided in conventional schools. Generally speaking, the extra cost of the demonstration project did not exceed 10 per cent of the normal costs of schooling in the Detroit schools.

ONE of the best known school programs for disadvantaged youth is New York's Higher Horizons project. Like the Detroit project, it began operating in 1959. It originated three years earlier, however, in the Demonstration Guidance project, organized in Harlem's Junior High School No. 43 and George Washington High School, the school to which its graduates are fed. J.H.S. 43's pupil population was 48 per cent Negro, 38 per cent of Puerto Rican background, 2 per cent of other Spanish speaking origin, 1 per cent Oriental, and 11 per cent white. In George Washington High School, 28 per cent of the total student body was Negro and 10 per cent Puerto Rican. The general purpose of the Demonstration Guidance project was to "identify and stimulate able students from a culturally deprived area to reach higher educational and vocational goals." More specifically, it was a pilot program "aimed at raising levels of aspiration and achievement by compensating for limitations stemming from cultural deprivation and motivating pupils to achieve their full potential."

In 1956, Junior High School 43 had 1,400 students in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Half these pupils, the most promising, were selected for the project. Their mean IQ score was 95. On the average, they were one and one-half years retarded in reading. Some dropped out of school; others entered vocational high schools; still others left the city. The 375 who remained and entered George Washington High School comprised the project students. The students were admitted in 1957, 1958, and 1959, the years they were graduated from J.H.S. 43.

The program of New York's Demonstration Guidance project will be considered under the same four headings as the Detroit project.

1. *Reinforcing the teacher's work:* Students who were deficient in reading entered special remedial classes of five and six. All teachers, regardless of subject, spent the first ten minutes of class time in reading exercises. In George Washington High School the students were placed in small classes of not more than fifteen. They took English twice a day because they had difficulty with the written and spoken language.

Counseling services were considerably expanded. In place of the usual counselor-pupil ratio of one to 1,400 in the city's junior high schools, the proportion was one to 200 in Junior High School 43, and one to 125 in George Washington High School. In most high schools it is one to 550. This meant almost four and one-half times the usual number of counselors.

At George Washington High School an intensive program of individual counseling was carried on. Each student was interviewed at least twice a year. Some had more than twenty counselor contacts. Counselors uncovered many personal problems, such as the difficulties of the girl whose stepfather kept throwing her books out of the window, or the boy whose mother would not allow him to accept a college scholarship. These clinical services helped children cope with environmental difficulties interfering with school achievement.

A dynamic program of group guidance was also instituted. Its chief purpose was to raise the students' levels of aspiration by impressing on them the fact that they could finish high school, enter college, and get decent jobs. Specific prevocational and vocational training were provided. Counselors also helped children find special services, both inside and outside school, such as remedial mathematics, special clubs, after-school centers, college coaching, and the like. Finally, counselors worked closely with teachers, giving them pertinent and detailed information about the scholastic and personal needs of their charges.

2. *Involving parents:* Parents who were recent arrivals from the rural South or Puerto Rico often lacked an understanding of the dynamics of urban living or of the specific needs of their children. Many were uninterested in or unaware of the educational and cultural opportunities available to their children. Counselors tried to persuade parents like these to be reasonable in the assignment of home chores, to provide privacy for study, and to encourage good school work. Strenuous efforts were made to give parents faith in their offspring. School personnel spent considerable time in parent interviews, parent meetings, parent workshops, and even trips for parents.

3. *Community Involvement.* A New York state employment counselor was assigned to the high school to help pupils plan occupational careers and to aid in placement. In addition, counselors from the National Scholarship Service and the Fund for Negro Students visited the senior classes, making positive suggestions for college and giving some scholarship winners special grants.

For the most part, however, the children were brought to the community rather than the other way around. Trips to museums, libraries, industrial plants, concerts, the ballet, the theater, and colleges were a regular part of the program. One group of pupils spent a weekend at Amherst; another visited the University of Massachusetts, getting firsthand experience with campus life. Each class made a trip to Washington, D. C., where one group conferred with the commissioner of Education himself.

As a result, some students became devotees of the Philharmonic or *afficionados* of the ballet and the theater. It was no longer considered "square" to attend a symphony concert or "sissy" to carry a paperback book.

4. *Special appropriations:* The program could not be regarded as inexpensive. The per-pupil cost in Junior High School No. 43 was increased by $100 per annum, in George Washington High School by $250. This was more than 40 per cent higher than the academic high school expenditure of $600 per capita.

The Demonstration Guidance project has generated great enthusiasm among educators. Frank Riessman, author of *The Culturally Deprived Child,* wrote: "There is no question that the program did a splendid job in demonstrating . . . that educationally deprived children can learn."

In 1959, 114 pupils in the project entered George Washington High. Of these, eighty-five, or 74 per cent, remained in school and were graduated in June, 1962, a proportion almost 50 per cent higher than pre-project students from Junior High School 43. Before the project began, the highest rank of any student from Junior High School 43 in his Washington High graduating class was forty-one. But in the class of June, 1962, project students obtained ranks two, four, and nine. Students in the 1960 project class were one, four, and six. Out of the eighty-five project students graduating in 1962, fifty-one went on to some form of higher education, almost three times the pre-project number. Fourteen obtained scholarships and attended such institutions as Dartmouth, Radcliffe, New York University, the University of Maine, and Western College for Women.

The success of this pilot project led to its expansion in a less intense form. The Higher Horizons program, as it is now called, served 25,000 pupils in fifty-two elementary schools and thirteen junior high schools during the 1961-1962 school year. Unlike the Demonstration Guidance project, it included all grades from three through nine. It also served *all* pupils in project schools, whatever their academic potential. Costs were reduced to $35 per pupil, partly because of experiences gained in the pilot project. Instead of one counselor to 200 pupils, for example, the ratio became one to 385. The results of this extended program are now being appraised by the school system's Bureau of Educational Research. In 1962 it was extended to eleven high schools, largely schools fed by Higher Horizons junior high schools.

John H. Fischer, formerly superintendent of schools in Baltimore and now president of Teachers College, Columbia, has suggested that culturally deprived children be given "compensatory educational opportunities" to help them overcome their initial cultural deficiencies. In essence, this is what both the Great Cities School Improvement program and the Higher Horizons program are trying to provide.

The Demonstration Guidance program did not come in a bargain basement package. "Some boards of education and some superintendents seem to think that all you need for a Higher Horizons program is hope, faith, and a little retooling," Jacob Landers, coordinator of New York's program, once declared. "The fact of the matter is that compensatory inequality of education is an expensive theory." Indeed, it costs more to raise a disadvantaged child from a slum area to a given standard of educational achievement than the typical child living in a more favored suburb. Unfortunately, the central cities in which the majority of disadvantaged pupils are found are usually financially hard pressed. Their more affluent suburbs, however, often have greater tax resources to support their school systems.

In recent years, New York's public schools have endeavored to fulfill the needs of disadvantaged children in many other ways. A few are outlined briefly below.

1. *"Special Service" Schools.* All school systems have favored schools and problem schools. In New York, the latter are called "special service" schools because they get extra help. The criteria for classifying these schools are based on their pupils' IQ's (a guide to their potential), their reading age (an index of achievement), the number of pupils receiving free lunch (an indicator of socio-economic status), pupil mobility (a clue to administrative and instructional complications), the number of non-English-speaking pupils (a signal of special reading difficulties), and the per cent of teachers on permanent tenure (inverted, a warning of personnel difficulties). In 1962, 201 out of the city's 584 elementary schools, or 34 per cent, were classified as "special service" schools. (In 1956, only forty-three out of 592 elementary schools, or 7 per cent, were in this category.) These schools get priorities in the appointment of regular teachers and the assignment of guidance counselors. Class size is appreciably

smaller than in the more favored schools and they are served by an expanded program of remedial reading to upgrade their pupils' reading skills. Some schools have special "teacher-training" consultants to help newly appointed teachers. All schools in the Higher Horizons program are in the "special service" category, but not all "special service" schools are in the Higher Horizons program.

2. *The Early Identification and Prevention Program.* This program is based on the familiar adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." If children who show evidence of maladjustment can be helped in the early grades, their problems can be overcome more readily or minimized later in life. Under this program, teams of guidance counselors, social workers, and psychologists try to find children in the first three grades with potential physical, learning, emotional, or behavioral problems and refer them to remedial classes, clinical services, family agency services, health services, and the like. Talented or gifted children are also identified, but they are distinctly in a minority. Any child can be maladjusted, but the incidence is highest in problem areas. Indeed, a number of "E.I.P." schools, as those serviced by the program are called, are also Higher Horizons schools.

3. *Junior Guidance Classes.* This is a two-year pilot program being conducted in a small number of elementary schools, in which emotionally and socially disturbed children are handled by special teachers, with the help of counselors and clinical psychologists. In many instances pupil behavior patterns reflect disturbed homes. Research has indicated that emotional instability cuts across class lines, but is more widespread in low socioeconomic areas than in privileged homes.

4. *Programs for Non-English-Speaking Children.* New York, traditionally the nation's melting pot, has assimilated millions of foreigners. Today, the principal foreign tongue is Spanish, spoken chiefly by Puerto Ricans. From 1953 to 1957, a "Puerto Rican Study" developed test techniques, teaching methods, and instructional materials for teaching English to Puerto Ricans. The school program for these children is based on this study. Recent arrivals may be placed in so-called "C" classes, where they remain up to a year. Non-English coordinators and substitute auxiliary teachers are assigned to schools with many non-English-speaking pupils to work with teachers, interview new arrivals, follow up pupils when they are placed in regular classes, and improve cooperation between school and community.

5. *Career Guidance and Potential Dropouts.* Other programs handle potential dropouts. The children most likely to leave school are those who are unsuccessful in their studies. Many are intellectual, emotional, or social misfits. The Career Guidance program attempts to salvage junior high pupils of this kind. The work is carried on largely by extra guidance counselors and corrective reading teachers whose services supplement the work of the regular class teacher. This project, which is carried on in "special service" schools, has shown that pupils who are apt to drop out of school because of limited academic success may be dissuaded by specially designed programs of pre-vocational education and effective guidance.

WHEN James B. Conant visited slum schools in big cities, he found teachers and administrators struggling against "appalling odds." These schools are too difficult and the rewards too small for many teachers. As a result, the need for teachers in such schools tends to outrun the supply.

Measures have been taken to help the teachers in these schools. Alertness courses, some partly on open-circuit TV, have trained teachers in such areas as the techniques of teaching reading. Specially trained coordinators recently conducted a training program for teachers of non-English-speaking children. Finally, teacher assistants have taken over some of the teachers' burdens. Volunteers provided by the Public Education Association have assisted classroom teachers for several years. A key part of this experiment has been helping pupils improve their reading and giving special assistance to the non-English-speaking child.

Some teacher preparatory institutions have attempted to inculcate future teachers with the idealism of the Peace Corps. Hunter College, a municipally supported institution in New York, has been developing a promising program of training teachers to staff multi-problem schools. Student volunteers are assigned to a particular school in a depressed neighborhood, usually in Harlem. They familiarize themselves not only with the schools but with the community as well. They visit Negro homes, read Negro newspapers, confer with community leaders, talk with local ministers, and inspect local housing projects, hospitals, and police stations. They observe teachers for two weeks before they gradually "break in" to a regular classroom assignment. More thorough than most pupil-teacher courses, this program includes mutual exchanges of experiences among student-teachers, periodic conferences with key personnel in the school, and intensive guidance by the Hunter College teacher preparatory staff. Comprehensive preparation of this kind helps ready them for later service in schools in depressed areas. It enables them to face their tasks with realism and understanding instead of shock and frustration.

The "Bridge Project," conducted at Queens College, another college-level municipal institution, is a demonstration project established to discover how teachers can be prepared to help slum children learn. (Bridge stands for "Building Resources of Instruction for Disadvantaged Groups in Education.") Its approach is many-sided. Three recent graduates of the teacher-training program, for example, will teach the same classes in a Negro neighborhood continuously for the entire three years of junior high school. Secondly, an experiment in supervision centers about a "coordinating teacher," who will suggest possible improvements in teacher preparation and supervision in schools of this kind. Finally, new teaching techniques and a modified organization of subject matter are being tried out.

WE have only a beachhead of knowledge on how to teach disadvantaged children. The college experiments and demonstration projects described above are hopeful signs. Intelligent efforts are being made to prepare teachers to handle assignments of this kind with confidence and skill.

In the past, one of the principal tasks of the American public schools has been to assimilate and Americanize the European immigrant and to help him take his place in an industrial society. Today it is to educate millions of newcomers in the slums of our big cities. The preservation of our democratic way of life, the demands of our economy, and the mental health of our people all require that we learn how to educate their children effectively. Thomas Jefferson hoped this nation would remain agricultural, because he distrusted city mobs. If millions of newcomers in our big cities are alienated because they are inadequately prepared to cope with the dynamics of urban living, Jefferson's prophecy may be partly realized.

Again, this country has been shifting to occupations that require more skill. With automation already on the horizon, the demand for unskilled labor is inevitably declining and the need for trained workers is rising. This suggests that we must look to the culturally deprived to fill shortages of skilled manpower. Otherwise, declares Conant in an oft-quoted remark, we are "allowing social dynamite to accumulate in our large cities." More than half the youth in some slum neighborhoods, he discovered, were unemployed.

Finally, we must offer these children the best opportunities to develop a wholesome respect for themselves and society. Failure to do so will inevitably produce heavy costs, in the form of police protection, courts, jails, and mental institutions. It will surely be less expensive, in the long run, to organize schools which can meet the needs of disadvantaged youth.

"1) Avoid fried meats, which angry up the blood. 2) If your stomach disputes you, lie down and pacify it with cool thoughts. 3) Keep the juices flowing by jangling around gently as you move. 4) Go lightly on the vices such as carrying on in society. The social ramble ain't restful. 5) Avoid running at all times. 6) Don't look back. Something might be gaining on you."

—Satchell Paige

"The more ideals a man has, the more contemptible is he if the matter ends there, and if there is no courage shown, no privations undergone, no scars contracted in the attempt to get them realized."

—William James

"A sociologist never cuts anything in half or even divides it like a layman. He dichotomizes it, bifurcates it, subjects it to a process of binary fission, or restructures it in a dyadic conformation . . . around polar foci."

—Charles E. Rollins, President
Edison Junior College, Florida

"Americans need to be warned about words and ideas which look much alike, but have different affects. For example, Americans often confuse size with importance, speed with progress, money with wealth, authority with wisdom, religion with theology, excitement with pleasure, and enthusiasm with hollering."

—Carter Davidson
President, Union College

"The denunciation of the young is a necessary part of the hygiene of older people; it greatly assists in the circulation of the blood."

—Logan Pearsall Smith

Thoughts of a teacher facing his pupils:

1. It is the teachers that will be taut.
2. Nothing succeeds like recess.
3. When he teaches punctuation, many of his students go into a coma; others are sensitive to the colon.
4. At the end of the day, his grief case is full.

—Saturday Review

Acceleration for the Overage Potential Dropout?

By GORDON L. CHAMBERLIN, with CALVIN D. CATTERALL

AMERICA's schools use an effective system for retaining youngsters who need grade repetition. But, regardless of need, there is usually no chance to make up that lost time. Years after he has been retained in a grade, a discouraged 17- or 18-year-old high-school sophomore is likely to slip into the ranks of the dropouts.

Here's the story of an action research project aimed partly at preventing dropouts *through acceleration* at the seventh grade level. The promising results suggest another look at the case for some students of normal ability (not just the gifted) skipping a grade.

Greenfield Junior High School in the school year of 1959-1960 was new and staffed with earnest, open-minded professionals. Its more than 800 seventh and eighth grade students flowed from the growing rows of tract homes in the El Cajon Valley, California. Most of the parents commuted the few freeway miles to shrinking aircraft factories, booming missile and electronics plants, or military installations around San Diego.

Each new September, Greenfield's staff expected a sprinkling of overage seventh graders—mostly boys we *thought* of as "dull" and "tough."

What we found in the records of the oldest twenty-one boys and thirteen girls in the seventh grade shattered our self-fulfilling hypothesis. Their IQ's averaged 96, only a few points below the entire school. Since these "big ones" were a year and a half older than the rest of the seventh graders, their mental age was above Greenfield's mean in this grade. But in achievement test scores, the overage group lagged more than a year behind the rest of the seventh grade.

Was this underachievement related to the difference in age between the overage group and their peers?

Thirty-three of the thirty-four older children had repeated a grade at least once. The boys and girls displayed a common pattern. One after another squirmed, fidgeted, and rationalized when the subject came up: "Why are you older than most seventh-graders?" Many blurted their feelings of being "not as smart as the others." They shored up weak self-images by denying the value of schools, by behavior patterns we felt were overly aggressive or overly withdrawn. Illness caused the retention of eleven children; time lost from school because of frequent moving was blamed in nearly half the cases. Their families were usually less well-off and more mobile, with breadwinners in unskilled or semi-skilled work.

We went to the children themselves, and they told knowingly or at times unwittingly of their low self-esteem and marginal school adjustment.

Could these boys and girls, 14 years old or more at the end of the seventh grade, hope to stick it out through the five years needed to finish high school?

Could these children jack up their lagging achievement levels?

Would these "big ones" find a better school adjustment in a peer group their own age?

Could we help these youngsters? And, incidentally, could we help them while saving a substantial sum badly needed in other educational areas?

Late in January of 1960, with deliberate drama, we dropped our bombshell in an announcement to this group:

> Years ago, you LOST a year of your lives. We school people kept you in one grade for two years. For various reasons it was best for you at that time.
>
> Now, the school wants to give you a chance to EARN back that year. Would you work as hard as you could, if it meant going to high school next September?

Their answer was a jubilant "Yes!"

For them, the conditions were simple. Each volunteer had to get parental consent, work up to his ability, and be a satisfactory citizen.

For us, the larger problem loomed—to induce *esprit de corps,* a motivating atmosphere that would tear away inhibitions, that would set these kids free to pursue the goal they said they wanted so much.

We devised an environment for a "Hawthorne effect"[1] with separate grouping and frequent visits

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of observers. Early in February, all thirty-four youngsters transferred to the "experimental group, Core 87." Greenfield's other pupils were grouped by a grade number and a letter, such as 8B or 7E. The number 87 stood for the "guinea pigs" who were trying to cover both the seventh and eighth grades at once. Ronald Dunham, their new core teacher and counselor, drummed out the message day by day to make these "big ones" feel there was something special, something dramatic about their group. Word flew over the peer grapevine that Core 87 was part of a scientific experiment. Daily, visiting firemen—the principal (Norman Esser), the authors, various teachers, and any available district office visitors—dropped into the class.

In succeeding months the original thirty-four children shrank to twenty-five. Two moved away. Two asked to return to their old classes because they "couldn't do the work." Five others were dropped for failure either to work or to behave.

The curriculum generally followed the eighth grade pattern. All possible materials were gathered for individualizing work into a personal contract basis, reminiscent of the Frederic Burk method.[2]

Core 87 youngsters submitted to a complete battery of the Metropolitan Achievement Test in February as a pre-test. They were post-tested in June with another form. These achievement tests measured a part of the increased motivation we had induced. The results are given as Table I.

Table I. A Comparison of Scores on Metropolitan Achievement Tests Administered .4 Years Apart

Sub-test	*Form R Feb. 17, 1960 Group Median (Grade Equiv.)*	*Form S June 9, 1960 Group Median (Grade Equiv.)*	*Median Growth in Years*	*Percentage of Expected Growth*
Reading	6.4	7.1	.7	175
Vocabulary	7.0	8.5	1.5	375
Arithmetic Fundamentals	7.0	7.6	.6	150
Arithmetic Problems	6.3	6.8	.5	125
English	6.1	6.8	.5	175
Literature	7.4	8.5	.7	225
History	6.8	8.9	2.1	525
Geography	7.3	7.7	.4	100 (at norm)
Science	8.8	9.2	.4	100 (at norm)
Spelling	6.1	7.0	.9	225

In writing assignments about "What happened to you in Core 87?," the children revealed an improved attitude toward school.

But what happened to them in high school?

High-school counselors evaluated them in comparison with other students of the same grade and ability in the spring of their freshman year and again in the autumn of their junior year. Table II shows the raw results of the study.

Table II. High School Counselors' Evaluations of Core 87

	March, 1961 Freshman Year	*Nov., 1962 Junior Year*
No response	3	5
Poor adjustment	3	3
Poor adjustment and dropped out	0	1
Satisfactory adjustment and dropped out	0	1
Satisfactory, good, or very good	19	15
	—	—
	25	25

Of the twenty students still traceable two and one-half years after leaving Greenfield, eighteen were still in school. Two girls had dropped out. This dropout rate of ten per cent was only slightly higher than is typical in these high schools.

We studied the five students who had failed, dropped out, or done poorly. Could this have been predicted? Yes. In the clarity of hindsight, our data revealed an answer, at least as it applied to success in the freshman year. Three students had failed or done poorly in the ninth grade. The Metropolitan Achievement Test scores for these three unsuccessful pupils were unique in two characteristics: 1) each had pre-tested more than a year below his actual grade placement (but so did several others), and 2) each had post-tested less than the norm-group progress from the beginning point. In short, these three were alone in starting with low achievement and in showing no measurable extra surge attributable to increased motivation. If we had known, the three could have remained at Greenfield another year. All the students who succeeded in the ninth grade either responded with extraordinary growth in achievement, started with above average achievement, or both. We found no predictive pattern for tenth grade performance.

Certain implications are unavoidable. The overage students who received *and responded to* the encouraging attention and the chance to gain acceleration did as well or better than typical high-school students.

This supports the notion that achievement and

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[1] See George Caspar Homans, "Group Factors in Worker Productivity," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, editors. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947. pp. 448-52.

[2] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. pp. 295-96.

adjustment to school are likely to improve if youngsters are placed in a group of their own age level. Secondly, by comparison with a better-achieving norm group, overage underachieving pupils can clearly sprint ahead under the effect of a contrived motivating environment. Last, skipping a year's schooling seemed to have a beneficial effect upon at least a major portion of the group (seventeen). As a by-product, the cost of these years of schooling was saved for other educational uses.

A broader study, including a control group, would produce facts to confirm or deny the inferences drawn here. It ought to be made to answer the question: Should older elementary students be screened for acceleration to increase their chances of completing high school successfully?

How many thousands of youngsters are a year and a half older than their peers in America's elementary and junior high schools? If accelerating the *right* ones will help these children, will reduce the high-school dropout rate, and will save money, shouldn't we bend every effort to the task?

Tax Deductions for Teacher Travel

► A teacher of foreign languages may deduct European travel expenses on his income tax return, a federal judge has ruled. The *New York Times* reported the ruling on October 10, 1963, citing the judge as follows:

"The teacher of foreign languages may well be in a unique situation. It is not necessary to visit Europe in order to maintain or improve many other 'skills,' but it is certainly necessary in the case of a teacher of European languages.

"It is not without significance that the Congress has recognized that a wide speaking knowledge of modern foreign languages is essential to the national welfare and defense.

"This kind of visit to foreign countries would seem to be necessary even where the teacher was born in a foreign country whose language he teaches. Where, as here, the language teacher has been born in the United States and educated here it is all the more necessary for him from time to time to hear the language spoken in its own country.

"No living language remains static; the fact that it is living means that it constantly changes."

The Modern Language Association of America reports that 26 per cent of its members, or about 1000, typically go abroad in a single year.

► Three top-ranked teachers who retired last year have been engaged by the Salt Lake City Board of Education to serve as part-time troubleshooters, assigned to assisting beginning teachers who encounter difficulties. They will work two or three days a week, as required.

'Shared-Time' Working in Detroit

► The largest "shared-time" program in the nation is operating this fall in the Detroit area. The 182 seventh and eighth graders at St. Norbert's parish school attend Cherry Hill Junior-Senior High School half of each day for mathematics, science, art, music, shop, and homemaking courses. They take language arts and religion at the parish school. The pastor of St. Norbert's reported his school would have needed four new teachers and two additional classrooms this year except for the shared-time program. Administrators of both systems say the program is working smoothly.

► The parents of 616 Utah school dropouts were polled on their reaction. Parents of only 269 were opposed to their children dropping out of school; 167 were moderately opposed and 102 definitely opposed.

► Administrators generally want to expand the use of audio-visual materials and try new media, accoring to a U.S. Office of Education survey, while teachers are generally satisfied with the present arrangements.

► Ten colleges in the New York City area are planning a television network to share course offerings in areas of limited enrollment and in subjects where one institution has developed a highly specialized program.

Innovations in New York City Schools

► Innovations in the New York City schools this year include large-scale expansion of team-teaching, lengthening the school day for first-graders from four hours to five hours, and teaching math and science in Spanish to 3,000 Spanish-speaking pupils. Programed textbooks have been introduced in a pilot project for twenty-seven fifth-grade spelling classes and in forty-seven junior high school classes for slow readers. In high school the laboratory work in chemistry and physics has been increased from five to six periods a week, and work-study programs have been expanded.

► A Pasadena teacher was recently suspended from his classroom and reassigned to home tutoring because he refused to remove his beard.

Trail-Blazing Books Revisited—II

A Second Look at *THE EMERGING HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM*

By HAROLD SPEARS

TO me, education has always been a matter of time and place and always will be. Consequently, in assessing my earlier work, *The Emerging High School Curriculum,* in the light of the present, I must ask the reader to return first with me to the scene of the birth. By the nature of the assignment, this report must be quite personal.

When asked to diagnose his own book, an author suddenly realizes how intimate the work, how much he had given of himself. Yet he realizes that it was sired by the period, and bears those definite characteristics. The book first appeared late in 1940, emerging out of my experiences of the years just prior.

The 1930-1940 decade was a stimulating one for students of American education. The wheels of business were slowed to a snail's pace early in the period, and the nation's embarrassment led to extensive governmental experimentation. In this atmosphere of there's-nothing-to-lose-by-trying, the secondary school became the center of the educational spotlight.

Why the secondary school? Perhaps largely because the nation for the first time discovered youth in the mass, as a distinct population group. As long as youth had been absorbed into the economy they did not stick out as a sore thumb on the community hand. With the absence of jobs, the high-school boom began.

This book, like the educational period it reflected, emphasized preparation for citizenship, rather than preparation for occupation. By and large, the newer developments were in general education.

Rumor and written fragments told of unusual programs in secondary schools here and there over the country. The book represents the author's personal effort to track down the more promising of these, and to relate them to his own emerging concepts and principles. The coast-to-coast exploration included visits to as many of the schools as possible.

Major Ideas of the Book

In meeting the current assignment to test major ideas in the book against the present, to determine the degree of significance to the present, I have selected these areas of concern to be checked out: 1) the community school, 2) the core curriculum, 3) the mechanics of curriculum planning, 4) the in-service training of teachers, 5) the attention given to general education, and 6) the place of the laboratory school in curriculum development.

The Community School. One of the most wholesome educational notions that we saw blossom in the late Thirties was the community school concept. I pursued this idea throughout the book in my excitement over its possibilities. For instance, in the visit to Norris, Tennessee, I found Glenn Kendall's new school so intertwined with the new community that the application of the idea was immediately apparent. In the manuscript I introduced the Norris chapter with this statement:

> A concept of recent development in American education, and one still struggling for emergence into a position of true significance and understanding, is the community school. To date it has been best described by what it is not—a school set off from its society.

If there were any doubts about the significance of a school curriculum being tied closely into the life of its community, they were erased during the days spent at Pine Mountain School in the mountains of Harlan County, Kentucky. The guiding hand was that of Glyn Morris, a school

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leader with insight and vision. There was nothing strained or artificial about the daily schedules of the pupils which took them in and out of the surrounding country as well as in and out of the classrooms. The significant weekly contribution of the student to the community enterprise, in addition to his more formal work in the school, was established not by chance but by educational design.

This bridge between the school and its supporting society was evident in a number of the other school examples described in the study.

To read the book for the first time today, in our more liberal period of thought about both government and education, one might never suspect that one prominent educational publishing house turned down the manuscript because of the inclusion of governmental ventures, considered quite controversial at the time. Among the editor's doubts were the Tennessee Valley Authority, which had accounted for the city of Norris; the Dowagiac Community plan; and the Evansville cooperative school program with the city's new federal housing project just across the street. Fortunately, the American Book Company accepted the manuscript with no such concerns.

Certainly, this inter-agency cooperation that was barely touched upon then has now become a common procedure in the school management. Schools can no longer operate alone. For instance, here in San Francisco this year's school routines include such projects as these:

1. A program to decrease dropouts, financed by federal funds.
2. An inter-agency three-year project to secure jobs for youth and to do the training, supported by federal and Ford funds. Cooperating agencies include the school district, the State Employment Office, the Welfare Department, the Police Department, etc.
3. A school program involving the Western Addition Neighborhood Council, using dramatics as an instructional approach with culturally handicapped junior high-school pupils, funds provided by the Rosenberg Foundation.
4. With Ford Foundation support, a three-year attack upon language problems of pupils in a selected neighborhood.
5. A work-study program for a group of high-school students living in a public housing project, the half-day work experience being provided in the housing development and being financed by the housing agency.

The Core Curriculum

One innovation of the Thirties that has retained its attraction today, though under a new title, is the core curriculum. Both its principles and its early patterns, as presented in *The Emerging High School Curriculum*, are now advancing under the banner of *team teaching*. Among the common features of both core and team teaching are: 1) a large group of pupils assigned to a team of teachers, 2) a curriculum block assigned as the area to be covered, 3) a block of time longer than the usual period provided for the work, 4) the provision within the program of class groups varying in size from exceedingly large to exceedingly small, 5) freedom for the teachers to plan among themselves the flexible scheduling within the program that meets the instructional objectives of the moment, and 6) the correlation of curriculum content naturally related.

My book described core programs in eight or ten school systems. My own first experience in developing this type of curriculum, presented in the chapter titled "The Evansville Plan," reminds us that Lloyd Trump of team teaching fame was also growing up in Indiana at that time in the same educational atmosphere—if not the same school system—as the author.

Curriculum Mechanics

During the 1930-1940 decade there was an attempt to make curriculum planning a science, a trend that possibly reached its peak by World War II, and consequently leaves this topic with limited application today.

At the time we were trying to differentiate and classify curriculum types for the sake of communication and eventual application. For instance, in my study six types of curriculum were treated: subject, correlated, fused, broad fields, core, and experience. I even strained to offer a seventh, an experience core. These were supposed to have ranged from traditional to revolutionary.

Time has shown us that such distinctions never held up, partly because it was an oversimplification of organizing for teaching, partly because the concepts were too mechanical, and partly because school practice in ensuing years didn't bear out the implied patterns. The attempt to be scientific was natural and sincere, but a curriculum concept can never put down firm roots for reseeding purposes unless there is enough actual school practice here and there to enable the students of the cult to find objective evidence of the theory.

No doubt there are far more curriculum variations among the secondary schools today, but seldom is there any attempt to give titles to the programs. Team teaching is the exception.

The presence of a sound program in the absence of titles was most apparent at the Pine Mountain School in Kentucky. In respect to this, I wrote:

> Such terms as *core course* and *experience curriculum* have not found their way into these hills of Harlan County. The director of the school and his staff are too busy with the natural activities of the hundred youth and the mountain community from which they come to classify the curriculum, or even to designate it. The curriculum movement means little to Pine Mountain, but Pine Mountain means much to the curriculum movement. Only by following the daily activities of the school may one determine its offerings, for the entire life of the school is the curriculum. The term *extracurricular activities* is foreign to Pine Mountain.

In-Service Training

At the time of the writing of the book, we were attempting to release ourselves from the earlier curriculum building period marked by so-called experts turning out courses of study as directives. This had been popular on both the local and state levels. As was written:

> There has developed recently a general faith in the benefit the instructional program derives from the participation of the classroom teacher in curriculum study and planning. Furthermore, just as it has become the custom through state programs to devote attention to the production of general curriculum materials or guides rather than to the development of the syllabus type course of study, so it is becoming popular for large cities to carry forward their reorganization on a similar basis.

The principles of teacher participation presented at that time have now been taken for granted, the refinement of the concept into worthy in-service courses and projects being evident throughout the country. The author later issued a book entitled *Curriculum Planning through In-Service Programs.*

The Attention to General Education

The attention to general education in the Thirties has its parallel today. The scarcity of lower-ability positions in our economy, reflecting the increase in automation, is threatening to present the secondary schools with a situation comparable with the depression decade.

The work experience approach, part school and part community endeavor, that had its impetus just prior to World War II, is again holding the attention of curriculum planners. Furthermore, the challenge—especially in the large cities—to renew our curriculum efforts to convince youth of the responsibilities of good citizenship is remindful of the big drive in this direction twenty to twenty-five years ago.

The Place of the Laboratory School

The laboratory school on the campus of the college of education was a significant partner in curriculum research a quarter of a century ago. One such school was chosen to be included in the text as an example of this exploratory effort, namely, the campus laboratory school of the Colorado State College of Education at Greeley, directed by W. C. Wrinkle.

Laboratory schools were centers of national attention on the secondary school frontier. Today we seldom hear of a demonstration school leading the exploratory parade. Within our time more responsibility has been assumed by local school districts, with curriculum planning supported by curriculum and research departments and in-service programs.

A FIRM tie joins the past and the present of American education. Just as one can find the seeds of the present comprehensive high school in the three-curriculum Public Academy established by Benjamin Franklin in 1751, so we can find adherence today to many of the ideas of secondary school operation that grew out of the necessities of the depression period. As an avid student of the school at that time, I found myself searching through the books that had been written twenty years before. I have never been one to turn my back upon a book in our profession just because of its copyright date.

In searching for the emerging high-school curriculum, I traveled from city to hamlet, collecting material and investigating the rumors of such a school. There were Ann Arbor and Denver, Evansville and Evanston, Pasadena and North Bend, Center Cross and Greeley, Yuba City, Harlan County, and others.

I realize that I never found it. Now I never want to find it. But I found its spirit and the key to its great success. It will always be emerging—that's the salvation of the American high school.

The greatness of our nation exists not so much in possessing as in striving and searching for. There isn't one best school, because there isn't one right idea.

The school exists partly in practice, partly in the minds of devoted teachers and conscientious citizens. That's its salvation. Excellence results from the stimulation of thought and effort that comes when we are seeking a better classroom than we had the year before.

The NEA Project on Instruction

'Schools for the Sixties'

THE generation which has seen the number of nations on the earth increase since World War II from eighty to 123 and which has witnessed the coming of age of electronics, computers, space travel, atomic energy, and world-wide communism cannot fail to restate its educational credo. Many efforts have been made, most of them nibbling at one corner of the problem. None has been as all-encompassing as the four-volume report produced by NEA's Project on Instruction, directed by Ole Sand with the assistance of Richard I. Miller and a national committee of fourteen educators.

Schools for the Sixties is one of a series of the four reports published by the project. (See box, next page.) It summarizes what is included in greater depth in three supporting volumes—*Deciding What To Teach, Planning and Organizing for Teaching,* and *Education in a Changing Society*.

Some readers will find *Schools for the Sixties* and its three supporting volumes inspiring and useful documents. Others will consider them something less. Some crusty critics will read with disbelief such heresies as here emerge from NEA, the sanctum sanctorum of the Establishment. They may even be persuaded that the Establishment is not as monolithic as they are so fond of picturing it.

Such statements as this might easily have come from the *CBE Bulletin:*

"It is necessary for the schools to choose a relatively few important objectives, to work toward them consistently, and review them periodically in the light of changing times. The additive approach—putting more subject matter areas into the curriculum and adopting a multitude of educational goals—is not recommended."

Persons who would not dream of reading the last chapter only of an Ian Fleming, Ellery Queen, or Agatha Christie volume are sometimes hurried into sampling just the conclusions and recommendations of a curriculum study. Though this is inescapable for some who must be aware of the substance of more reports than they have time to digest thoroughly, it is unfortunate. Understanding is not developed by reading recommendations without their supporting arguments. One hesitates to summarize proposals for fear that readers may feel satisfied that they have the gist of the book. Reluctantly then, we report that twelve major areas were identified, each encompassing some basic question such as: Who should make what decisions? How can innovation be encouraged? How can the program provide both diversity and unity? What are the prior responsibilities of the school? What is the school's role in teaching about communism? How can appropriate content be selected from the growing mass of knowledge? How shall the curriculum be organized? How can the time and talents of teachers be best utilized? How can technology be utilized?

Each of these areas is discussed with a commendable thoroughness in an obvious quest for the most defensible and useable answers. Inevitably readers will question some of the thirty-three recommendations that result, and this the authors welcome. Why, for example, is the excellent discussion of the teaching of reading followed by no recommendations? And why is the proposal for budget allocations for research and innovation accompanied by almost no supporting discussion? And, more important, why is there so little attention to the instructional role of the classroom teacher? Although the report clearly places the teacher on a pedestal, it leaves him there with no guidelines other than the hope that administrators and board members will, after reading this report, provide him with adequate support and acceptable directives. This is obviously not a weakness in the report, but an indication that another report, directed at teachers instead of at their bosses, might be useful.

The thirty-three recommendations represent a distillation of some of the clearest current thinking about instruction. It is as difficult to find a bad idea among them as it is to find a new one. These are safe and sane statements, not dramatic or revolutionary, but wholesomely knowledgeable and far-sighted.

Perhaps the tenor of the recommendations can be judged from this sampling:

Recommendations:

2. . . . The federal government provide general financial assistance for the improvement of public education.

5. . . . The state legislature should not prescribe curriculum content or legislate specific courses.

6. School systems should allocate an appropriate porportion of their annual operating budgets—not less than one per cent—for the support of research, experimentation, and innovation.

7. . . . curriculum and instruction centers should be encouraged, located mainly in universities, to work with local schools to initiate innovation and conduct experimentation and research. . . .

8. Efforts of nationally oriented, non-governmental groups to stimulate curricular and instructional experimentation and innovation should be encouraged. Scholars in the academic fields and the teaching profession should be involved in such efforts.

10. Priorities for the school are the teaching of skills in reading, composition, listening, speaking (both native and foreign languages), and computation . . . creative and disciplined thinking . . . self-instruction and independent learning . . . humanities and the arts, social and natural sciences and mathematics . . . taste in literature, music, and the visual arts . . . health and physical education. Responsibilities best met by joint efforts of the school and other social agencies include: . . . values and ideals . . . social and civic competence . . . vocational preparation.

12. Rational discussion of controversial issues should be an important part of the school program.

22. Decisions about when to teach what should be based on both the learner's ability to understand and the relative importance of alternative ways of using the learner's time at any given point in his school experience.

23. . . . the school organization should provide for differential rates and means of progression toward achievement of educational goals. Non-grading and multi-grading are promising alternatives. . . .

24. . . . groups based on ability and/or achievement are not recommended as a general practice. However, selective grouping and re-grouping by achievement sometimes is useful, particularly at the secondary level.

25. . . . instructional groups that may range . . . from one pupil to a hundred should be encouraged and tested.

29. . . . use of ETV and radio should be encouraged.

30. Schools should make use of programed instruction . . . with a vigorous program of research and experiment.

NEA Project on Instruction Publications

Major Reports

Schools for the Sixties, the overview volume. 146 pp. $2.45 paper, $3.95 cloth. Should be ordered from bookstores of McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., N.Y. 36, N.Y. All other publications listed below are published by the NEA. See ordering information at bottom of box.*

Education in a Changing Society. 166 pp. $1.75 paper, $2.75 cloth.

Deciding What To Teach. 254 pp. $2.25 paper, $3.25 cloth.

Planning and Organizing for Teaching. 192 pp. $2.00 paper, $3.00 cloth.

Auxiliary Publications

The Scholars Look at the Schools: A report of the Disciplines Seminar. 64 pp. $1.50.

The Principals Look at the Schools: A status study of selected instructional practices. 76 pp. $1.50.

Current Curriculum Studies in Academic Subjects. 101 pp. $2.

In addition to the publications listed above, a bibliography of articles about the project written by members of the national committee and the staff appears as an appendix in each of the four major reports.

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*Order NEA publications from NEA Publications-Sales, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Payment should accompany orders for $2 or less. Shipping charges added to all billed orders. Discounts on quantities: 2-9 copies of same title, 10%; 10 or more copies, 20%.

SCHOOL people have never been as concerned with what to teach and how to teach it as they are now. Arnold Toynbee suggests that this may be a symptom of decadence, since to a vigorous people the goals and virtues to be perpetuated are obvious. Like a healthy adolescent, a young culture acts on energetic impulse. The need for endless debate and discussion of educational programs can be said to stem from the uncertainty of a tired society or from a mature concern for the pluralistic views of democracy.

At any rate, each year brings more conferences and more committee reports on what we should teach and how we should teach it. These are desperate attempts to find practical universals of content and method, when our insistence on the unique educational needs of the individual dictates that any universals must be so vacuous as to be useless—except as philosophical foundations on which diversified curriculum structures can be built.

This four-volume report of the NEA Project on Instruction does provide such a groundwork. It offers comprehensive, rational, up-to-date principles that if generally adopted would raise educational standards to undreamed-of heights. This publication can mark a milestone in American education.

The Project on Instruction has been four years at its task and its work will continue indefinitely through the newly created NEA Commission on Instruction. Top people in every sector of education contributed, and the result is as persuasive as such a document can be. If some should be dismayed at the complaints that will inevitably be voiced, we can remember that even the constitution of the United States was not adopted without a struggle. If others should be alarmed at the prospect of another step toward conformity through the imposition of another national curriculum pattern, they should be reassured that one of the fundamental principles of this statement holds that "Local school faculties should have the freedom and authority to make decisions about what to teach—within state and local requirements—and how to teach. Final instructional decisions should be made by the teacher, taking into consideration recommendations from appropriate local, state, and national groups representing the teaching profession, academic scholars, and the public." And "the right to independence in making teaching decisions, within the framework of existing societal and institutional plans, must not be taken away—even from teachers who make these decisions badly. Teachers who consistently make poor instructional decisions should be removed from teaching. It is the right to teach—not the right to make teaching decisions while employed as a teacher—that should be subject to impeachment."

Schools for the Sixties constitutes a noteworthy academic accomplishment. It represents a professional chore performed in statesmanlike fashion. If it is not an important book, this is because it lacks the creative spark, the burning conviction that is so seldom in evidence in a committee report. No volume can be all things to all people. This one is not an inspired or original contribution. It is a carefully planned, well-phrased, and articulate presentation of the common ground positions, with some innovations and new wrinkles.

Ole Sand, director of the project, announces in the preface that "the report is directed to school board members, to other interested citizens who influence decisions about education, and to our colleagues in the teaching profession." If large numbers of these groups get the message the cause of improved education will have been handsomely served.—DWR

Glueck Forecasting Formula

► Children in danger of becoming juvenile delinquents can be identified early in life; and by "furnishing skillful and timely therapy and instruction to such children and their parents," it should be possible to save them from a life of crime.

This is the conviction of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, the husband-and-wife research team of the Harvard Law School which has spent over thirty years studying the physical, psychological, and social traits distinguishing between delinquents and non-delinquents.

Recently the Gluecks reported on a New York test to identify pre-delinquents, using three family factors: supervision of boy by mother, discipline of boy by mother, and family cohesiveness.

The study, begun in 1952 by the City Youth Board, involved 244 boys between five-and-a-half and six-and-a-half years old, and selected from two schools in high-delinquency areas. Their careers were followed to age 17. The results, recently published: Of 193 boys identified as having a very low chance of delinquency, 96.4 per cent remained non-delinquent; of twenty-seven boys identified as having a high chance of delinquency, 85.1 per cent became serious or persistent offenders; of the other nineteen —who were found to have about a fifty-fifty chance of delinquency—nine became delinquents and ten remained non-delinquent.

Pre-delinquency, say the Gluecks, can no longer be left to the untutored and planless efforts of modern parents. We can begin with the application of screening devices in the schools to discover children whose emotions and character are being distorted. We can aid parents and teachers with practical advice on the relationship of affectional and disciplinary practices to the formation of personality and character.

The Gluecks suggested that pilot projects be set up in a number of cities to do three things:

1. "Use prediction devices to determine at an early age which school children are in substantial danger of developing into persistent delinquents, because of faulty parental attitudes and behavior."
2. "Develop techniques for informing parents, tactfully and helpfully, of necessary modifications in their child-rearing practices."
3. "Give practical aid, through clinics attached to school systems, in bringing about such modifications."

When *Pupil Control* Becomes an Institutional Theme

By DONALD J. WILLOWER and RONALD G. JONES

EVERY school has a personality, shaped by particular people working in a particular setting. This study[1] analyzes the influences that gave a certain junior high school in a middle-sized city of Pennsylvania its special character.

The school had an enrollment of approximately 1,600 students and a faculty of seventy-two. The principal was new to the school, having succeeded a long-term principal who retired shortly after the study began.

Our purposes were to describe social behavior in an educational organization and to apply and develop concepts which might be theoretically useful and lead to further research. The techniques used were basically observation and interview. Numerous observations were made at the school over a fourteen-month period beginning in April, 1962, and more than sixty interviews were conducted. Since the study was limited to a single school, only very tentative generalizations can be made from it.

The data were overwhelming, of course. We had notes on behavior in the faculty lounge, in faculty and administrative meetings, in classes, in the corridors, in the cafeteria and the assembly. We knew the feelings, perceptions, and opinions expressed by those we interviewed. The central task was to give meaning, order, and unity to these diverse data.

Sociologists and anthropologists have often employed concepts which are integrative and which portray social systems as unified wholes rather than as fragmented and unrelated parts. We found such an integrative theme in the school under study: it was clearly that of pupil control.[2] While many other matters influenced the tone of the school, pupil control was a dominant motif.

Faculty structure was characterized by a number of informal groupings. One such grouping was based on differences in age, number of years at the school, and certain attitudes held. Older teachers who had been teaching at the school for a number of years held generally conservative views. Younger teachers who had taught there for shorter periods (usually five years or less) held more liberal and permissive views. Members of the older group placed great stress on pupil control and discipline and did not hesitate to communicate their views to the younger teachers, whom they often viewed as being lax and failing to maintain sufficient social distance between themselves and students. Younger teachers sometimes tried to win the approval of their more conservative colleagues by talking or acting "tough" with regard to students. These attempts met with mixed success, one teacher reporting that "no matter how strict you are, they still think you're soft on discipline."

A good deal of the "tough talk" regarding students occurred in the faculty lounges, which were separate for men and women teachers. Talk in the men's lounge was primarily concerned with students and sports. The sports talk focused on the

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[1] The study was supported by a grant from the Research Fund of the College of Education, The Pennsylvania State University. We also owe a considerable debt to the administration and faculty of the school studied for their cooperation and assistance.

[2] Pupil control is a form of social control. Social control is the process by which social order is established and maintained. See Paul H. Landis, *Social Control.* New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1956, p. 4.

national scene and on the school's extensive athletic program. With regard to students, the following kinds of discussion predominated: boasting about the tough and uncompromising manner in which a particularly difficult discipline problem was handled; ridiculing students, especially their answers to teacher questions and tests; and more pointedly aggressive references to students who were considered hopelessly uncooperative. Interviews indicated that talk in the women's lounge followed a similar pattern except that sports were not much discussed. The term "gossiping" was used in several interviews to describe teacher conversation there. Apparently the women discussed a student's family, particularly brothers and sisters who had preceded him at the school, more than the men.

Collusion in the 'Circle'

Another type of teacher behavior of some interest occurred in the "circle meetings" held prior to each marking period. A circle consisted of those "solid subject" teachers who taught the same students. It also included guidance personnel and occasionally the principal. The formally stated purpose of these meetings was to coordinate the work of teachers, counselors, and administrators with regard to student problems. However, the circle meetings actually were used to come to an understanding and form a united front in the grading of students, particularly those to be assigned failing grades. While a variety of data led to this conclusion, the following occurrence is representative: A circle chairman had some difficulty in setting a suitable meeting time for the circle. He became quite anxious because, as he put it, "I don't want to be out on a limb with my F grades."

With regard to teacher-administrator relations, two points relating to the pupil control theme should be made. The first concerns the retired principal. During the last few years of his tenure, he was in poor health. The faculty, to use a term employed by one of the teachers, "carried" the principal; that is, they handled things themselves wherever possible so as not to add to his workload. Instead of sending the more serious discipline cases to the principal's office, the teacher handled them himself, or, more often, sent them to the guidance counselor. The counselor, then the only full-time guidance person at the school, clearly recognized the undesirability of mixing guidance and discipline, but all persons involved gave higher priority to the maintenance of the discipline function.

When the new principal took over, the greatest single concern of the faculty was that he might "be weak on discipline." This was mentioned by teachers again and again during interviews. He had to win his spurs with the faculty by showing that he was a stern disciplinarian. He separated guidance and discipline, took full responsibility for discipline on himself, and worked hard to show the faculty that he was not "soft." While he has generally succeeded, many teachers appear ready to change their opinions at the slightest provocation. Thus, in tallying up at the close of the school year, a number of teachers noted that the new principal had suspended fewer pupils during the year than his predecessor usually had. Also, a number of the women teachers were annoyed when the new principal moved into a somewhat less accessible office than had been occupied by the former principal. We were told that the reason for this annoyance was that teachers could not get to him as easily when they had a discipline case to bring to his attention.

The theme of pupil control fits the general climate of the school as we developed a "feel" for it, and it fits the behavior, particularly of teachers, which we observed in the corridors, in the assembly, and in the cafeteria. Perhaps the best symbol of this restrictive concept of discipline was a single roll of toilet tissue found in the boys' toilet; it hung by padlocked chain from a post near the door.

A final observation does not seem to fit the theme of pupil control: The concept of social obligations[3] appeared to be particularly useful in explaining certain relationships, especially those between the faculty and the old principal. An incident illustrates this. At a faculty meeting a teacher objected strongly to a proposal made by the principal. The teacher expected the support of most of the faculty, since the proposal involved extra duty for teachers. However, he spoke alone in opposition. Our interviewees stated that this happened because most of the teachers were obligated to the principal for favors done. The concept of social obligations applied less well to relationships between the faculty and the new principal, probably because it takes time for a new system of social obligations to develop after an administrator enters upon a new position.

Our observations and interviews convinced us that the theme of pupil control is appropriate in the school we studied. We are less sure that the school is a representative one. For one thing, the school is located in an area of high unemployment and low income.[4] On the other hand, all who are familiar with schools know the stress placed on pupil control in most of them, and the Tom Sawyer attitude which many students have toward school is too well known to chronicle here.

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[3] Peter M. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*. New York: Random House, 1956, pp. 72-73.

[4] Another feature which seemed unusual to us was that nearly one-fourth of the teachers had themselves attended the school as students and more than one-half had attended the local high school. We do not know how this compares with other schools, but it probably influenced relationships between older and younger teachers. The question of what kind of person returns is also interesting.

On a more theoretical level, public schools can be viewed as an organizational type. Carlson[5] notes that in some service type organizations, the organization controls the selection of its clients, while in others it does not; in some cases, clients can refuse to participate in the organization while in others they cannot. These considerations lead to a four-category classification scheme. Public schools fall in the category of organizations which have no control over client selection and where clients have no choice concerning their participation. That control should be identified as central in such organizations does not seem surprising. Indeed, studies of other organizations of the same type, e.g., mental hospitals and prisons, focus on control as a major variable. While mental hospitals and prisons are, in Goffman's[6] terms, total institutions while public schools are not, studies of the former organizations can provide helpful leads in analyzing schools. The concept of displacement of goals has been used extensively in such studies where it has been observed that control goals frequently replace treatment or rehabilitative goals. The circle meetings in the present study provided an example of goal displacement, and the general emphasis on control goals in the school could hardly fail to lead to displacement of instructional goals at certain points.

Functional or Dysfunctional?

Whether stress on pupil control is viewed as functional or dysfunctional depends upon one's perspective. In terms of the limitations faced by many schools—overcrowding, low teacher pay, student apathy—an emphasis on control could be seen as functional, enabling the school to make the best of a difficult situation. In terms of a broader view of what education ought to be, and might become, such an emphasis is largely dysfunctional. Strong emphasis on control usually returns definite but short-range gains and may be self-defeating in the long run. Clearly, the teachers in the school under study insisted upon the shorter-range objective.

New teachers are quickly exposed to informal norms as well as to more formal expectations in the process of socialization into the organization. New teachers and sometimes student teachers were frequently silent but interested listeners in the faculty lounge discussions described earlier. They learned that they had to be "tough on discipline" to get along; and they knew that they were restricted in the kinds of innovations they could employ in their classrooms, since the use of more permissive methods left them open to the charge of softness. This created a serious problem for the more idealistic new teachers. As one teacher put it: "These new teachers come out of college filled with ideas, then they meet opposition from the old-timers who have been going over the same problems in the same ways for years." Ideals need reinforcement. If that is lacking, it seems logical that the idealistic teacher will employ certain adaptive behaviors. He may go along, submerging his ideals and refusing to act on them; he may engage in conflict with his colleagues; or he may leave the organization. If he takes the first course, his energies might be directed toward some other facet of the organization's activity. In this connection, it should be recalled that we observed in the male teachers unusual commitment to the school's athletic program.

The scapegoating of students observed in the faculty lounge also deserves comment. Blau and Scott[7] discuss the same kind of behavior by staff members in a public employment agency. They point out that such behavior has several functions. It furnishes an escape valve for releasing aggressive feelings against clients in a relatively harmless form and it provides social approval from peers which helps to relieve feelings of guilt for not having done a more effective job with clients. While such behavior led to the reduction of staff tensions and increased social support, it also legitimated inconsiderate treatment of clients. These points appear to apply to the teacher behavior observed in this study.

It seems obvious, yet important, to note the kinds of polarities which lie at the core of educational administration—the individual versus the organization, idealism versus disillusion, stability versus the need for innovation and change, short-run versus long-range goals.

While its limitations have been noted, this research, among other things, points to pupil control as an integrative concept of some value in studying educational organizations. We have only scratched the surface. Further studies which focus on pupil control in schools are needed to reveal other useful integrative concepts.

"It is completely unimportant. That is why it is so interesting."

—*Agatha Christie*

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[5] Richard O. Carlson, "Environmental Constraints and Organizational Consequences: The Public School and Its Clients," draft of a paper prepared for the 1964 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Mimeo., 1962.

[6] Erving Goffman, *Asylums*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1961, especially pp. 3-124.

[7] Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, pp. 84-85.

SCRAPS from a Teacher's Notebook

By DON ROBINSON

Our culture includes a belief that nothing is worthwhile unless it was obtained by grit, guts, and gumption. An affluent society must learn a new psychology. The reality of today is that we have learned to obtain almost effortlessly many of the rewards that formerly required much toil and trouble. We cannot expect the world to renounce the hard-won gains of ease. We must learn to live with them, accept them, value them. Man will always work as hard as he must to obtain what he wants. Today he does not work as hard because he does not need to. The older critics see only that he works less hard, and call him lazy and decadent. Actually today's youth works just as hard as its forebears did, namely, as hard as it must.

* * *

Some people can perform well only in a demanding world. Today's world (leaving the Soviet threat aside for the moment) is a less demanding world than any previous era. Today's challenge is to perform in a non-demanding world. That is part of the job the schools are addressing themselves to: teaching youngsters to perform without the pressures of authority, compulsion, or necessity, and frequently without competition. Parents, whether they wish to or not, establish in their children the standards of performance the child will consider satisfactory.

* * *

Nearly everyone possesses far more ability and far more intelligence than he normally employs. Nervousness, hurry, worry, and fear keep us from operating at our best. In order to perform well, we must learn to understand ourselves as well as we understand our jobs.

* * *

Can we properly deny the appropriateness of standardized pencil and paper tests for determining success in high school at the same time that we adopt them as a basis for college admission and scholarship awards?

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Individual satisfaction and fulfillment must inevitably be the major goal of every life. The unending problem is to provide the models and the instruction that will so shape the standards of the young that they will find satisfaction and personal fulfillment in activities ennobling to themselves and helpful to the race.

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Youngsters study and learn when they want to. They want to if the subject is of genuine interest to them or if success in school is necessary to win the approval of parents or teachers or to obtain the desired diploma. Too often the subject is not of real interest to the student, parents and teachers appear indifferent to his school success, and he can graduate merely by maintaining a decent attendance record and behavior record. What, then, is the incentive to study?

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Some critics assume that change in teaching is the norm and that retention of any curriculum or teaching procedure more than five years must be justified. Others assume that stability is the norm and any change must be justified. Both views are absolutely correct.

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Poor teachers make the subject easy, but make it seem hard. Good teachers make it hard, but make it seem easy.

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The overemphasis on patriotism by leaders like Max Rafferty who profess devotion to intellectualism is strange, since patriotism is an emotional, not an intellectual, quality.

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Sterling McMurrin recently said, "Fortunately there is now a widespread recognition . . . that we can no longer afford to waste human talent and ability. . . . " The problem arises, however, because we now *can* afford to waste talent and ability as we have never been able to before. We have a cushion of affluence and know-how unique in human history. The current urgency implied in Mr. McMurrin's message is real only if you accept the Communist challenge as an urgent threat, or if your Puritan conscience refuses to allow you to accept the intellectual as well as the material affluence that is ours.

* * *

At least three separate aspects of the teacher's job can be identified: stimulating the pupil's desire to learn, teaching him how to learn, and presenting the subject. Traditionalists concentrate on the third, which is the least important; give nodding recognition to the first; and virtually ignore the second. They concentrate on the presentation of the subject, because their own primary interest is usually the subject and because they are oriented towards the more mature, more academic student, who has already mastered the other two steps. But how can the other students hope to learn unless the school succeeds with the first two steps?

Keeping Abreast in Research

Taking a holiday to scan current educational and psychological journals at a university library, a guest editor reports some recently published investigations relating to learning and personal growth, the results or implications of which may be useful to teachers, counselors, and administrators.—The Editors

By WILLIAM G. LAND

Influence of Motivation on Testing

► An analysis of the results of British school qualifying tests given at ages 10-11 and 17-22, and of other intelligence tests given under conditions of no special motivation, indicates that "in practically every case where a strong incentive operated, the mean of the performances was much higher and the reliability of the tests much greater" than where there was no particular motivation. "In most cases the validity of the tests also improved, but here the increase was neither so large nor so consistent. The standard deviations increased in those examinations where the motivation was strongest in the case of the brighter candidates, and decreased in the experiments where it was equally strong for the duller examinees. . . . The nature, the mode of operation, and the effects of the motivation differ widely with different conditions and with different individuals. In the main, the variations due to the more specific differences seem comparatively slight. . . .

"Two practical corollaries follow: that conclusions based on test results cannot be accepted at their face value unless the motivational conditions under which the test was applied are taken into consideration; and that test results obtained under different motivational conditions cannot, as a rule, be validly compared."

(Cyril Burt and E. L. Williams, "The Influence of Motivation on the Results of Intelligence Tests." *British Journal of Statistical Psychology,* November, 1962.)

Creativity and IQ Tests

► Using the California Mental Maturity Inventory and a battery of creativity measures designed by Guilford, 114 advanced science students at the high-school level were tested to determine whether the addition of a battery of creativity tests to the conventional IQ test gave an improved prediction of performance in high-school science courses. In addition to an affirmative finding, it was also found that the creative test battery alone predicted performance as well as, or better than, the conventional measure. The research results brought out secondary issues: the relation of teacher ratings to these tests, and also the differences in the predictability of achievement of the girl students as indicated by the two types of tests.

(Victor B. Cline, J. M. Richards, Jr., and W. E. Needham, "Creativity Tests and Achievement in High School Science." *Journal of Applied Psychology,* June, 1963.)

Parochial and Public School Achievement

► On the basis of SRA high-school placement test scores reported in 1959 and 1960, it appears that eighth-grade pupils in Catholic schools had significantly better arithmetic and reading achievement scores than did a similar national sample of public school pupils, and also significantly better scores on the 1960 language arts test. In the non-verbal achievement test, however, the two groups ranked the same. These findings are based on samples of 1,000 scores in each group for each of the two years. The authors point out that this statistical exercise involved only these achievement criteria, and that an analysis of scores based on different criteria might produce different results. They also caution against applying the conclusions to other than the national sample.

(Robert H. Bauernfeind and W. S. Blumenfeld, "A Comparison of Achievement Scores of Public School and Catholic School Pupils." *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* Summer, 1963.)

High-School English Composition

► A simple tabulation of the errors made in writing fourteen themes during a school year showed that ninety-six high-school seniors of average IQ (range, 92 to 115) made a total of 11,220 mistakes in English composition. Of these, 3,393 were in spelling, 1,039 involved the use of wrong words, and 1,747 were misuses of the comma. The author comments that "spelling errors occur from carelessness, negligence, indifference and . . . lack of recognition of error. Probably the two greatest factors are sheer indolence on the part of the student and the willingness of the teacher to avoid penalizing spelling errors

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in favor of praising content. . . . " Charting the prevalence of seventeen types of errors in composition, he concludes that most errors are due to illogical or careless thinking and that sentence fragments and run-on sentences are indications of students' inability to distinguish between complete thoughts and fragmentary or impressionistic flashes.

(W. M. Thomas, "Technical Errors in the Compositions of the Average High-School Senior." *School Review*, Summer, 1963.)

Types and Occurrence of Mental Retardation

► An analysis of 892 referrals of backward children for treatment indicates that two types of mental retardation are to be distinguished: that arising from brain disorders and that appearing in the clinically normal child. The former occurred in children from all backgrounds, but the latter only in those children living in demotic—as distinguished from aspirant—sociological subcultures, as defined by the ways of life, values, and attitudes which are common to particular sections of society. Treatment of clinically normal backward children resulted in gains in intellectual scores, and it was noted that the condition of retardation was specifically related to the demotic subculture involved. The causes of backwardness in school were found to be different at the extremes of the social scale. In schools of high standing, educationally subnormal children had a very high rate of chronic disorders, and these seemed to be a cause of backwardness. In schools of low standing, backwardness occurred mainly in the clinically normal children and was probably the result of mental retardation caused by the demotic environment.

(Zena Stein and M. Susser, "Social Distribution of Mental Retardation." *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, May, 1963.)

Thesis Notes

► As a stimulus to students of special education, it may be noted that the *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* publishes selected research abstracts which have been prepared under National Institutes of Health auspices. Also, dissertation writing may perhaps be promoted by two articles in the May, 1963, issue of the *British Journal of Educational Studies:* D. C. Pritchard, "Some Sources of the History of the Education of the Handicapped in England and Wales," and L. Spolton, "The Secondary School in Post-War Fiction," a listing of writings which reflect the public image of the British schools.

Testing Learning Ability

► Along with ten conventional tests of learning ability, nine new tests were devised for use at the primary school level, each based on the learning of an unfamiliar task and yielding scores at six successive stages of practice. These tests were administered in an educational clinic to thirty-six children, aged 8-9 and 10-11 years. "The predictive value of the various learning tests . . . varied widely, yielding the expectation that a battery of successful tests could be devised, though much more exploration with large numbers of cases is needed. . . . Rate of progress or gain scores possess no inherent advantage. It is the final scores achieved after instruction and practice at some unfamiliar task that yield the highest validities and seem most likely to add to the predictive value of conventional tests that are applied without such practice.

"The outlook for individual learning tests which could be applied in the educational clinic does not appear very promising, both because these would have to be very lengthy to allow adequate practice and because the child's reaction to the learning situation in the clinic setting might differ considerably from his reaction in the classroom."

(G. W. S. Mackay and P. E. Vernon, "The Measurement of Learning Ability." *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, June, 1963.)

Rigidity as a Learning Variable

► An experiment using 105 adults in a mental hospital tested their immediate recall on tasks varying in difficulty level. "Consistent with previous experiments," the authors report, "rigidity, extreme positive response set, and a 'drive' scale produced highly significant negative correlations with good performance. . . . With practice, the more rigid subjects improved most rapidly, this effect being curvilinearly dependent upon task difficulty. . . . The consistency and significance of results obtained leaves no doubt that rigidity constitutes a critical variable in learning theory. The learning effects attributed to manifest anxiety and/or neuroticism should be viewed in the light of rigidity, apart from intelligence and age, before they are assessed in their own right."

(J. C. Brenglemann and L. E. H. Lindahl, "Personality, Task Difference, and Level of Memory Performance." *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie*, December, 1962.)

Student-Parent Relationships

► A series of interviews with nineteen college freshmen and their parents was designed to explore the relationship between the capacity for autonomous behavior among college students and the patterns of interaction between the students and their parents during the transition from high school to college. The investigators note that the findings do not indicate final solutions, since the total response of the subjects extends beyond the time of the experiment. Autonomy is defined as the ability to make separate responsible choices; relatedness as "the satisfaction for the student in a predominantly positive relationship with his parents . . . based on student-expressed feelings of growing equality with parents in which there was mutual pleasure, interest in their welfare, desire to communicate, and his permitting them to be emotionally close to him."

Four groups of interactions are discussed, with the optimum situation indicated as one which facilitates the development of autonomy "through identification with parents who are . . . models of autonomous adults." At the other end of the scale, "parents of students rated low in autonomy and relatedness lacked confidence in the students' ability to achieve autonomy. . . . Parents and students seemed to be caught in a circle of self-fulfilling prophecies about each other, maintaining the students' difficulty in assuming responsibility for themselves. . . . Often students needed to fall back on rather extreme forms of negativism as a way of attempting to define themselves as separate from parents."

(Elizabeth B. Murphy and others, "Development of Autonomy and Parent-Child Relationships in Late Adolescence." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, July, 1963.)

Choice of College Majors

► By administering an objective test of conceptualization to fifty college juniors and seniors in which the task was to associate four kinds of defined concepts (formal, affective, specific, evaluative) with a number of general statements, an experiment tested the relationship between the students' preferences and their choice of and academic achievement in major subjects. These preferences were defined as quantitative and nonquantitative concepts. The results of the procedure supported the thesis that the choice of major subjects manifests the students' preferred forms of conceptual activity, and that these conceptual preferences are associated both with choice of an area of specialization in college and with academic achievement in that field.

(Joseph Gilbert, "Conceptual Preferences Associated with Choice of Quantitative and Nonquantitative College Majors." *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, May, 1963.)

Excellence Among the Slow?

► Educators must begin to search for excellence among the slow learners as well as the fast, declares Frank Riessman, visiting professor of psychiatry, Columbia University.

In considering the problem of slowness, Reissman says, we should recognize that we probably put too much emphasis on speed. We reward speed. We think of the fast child as the smart child and the slow child as the dull child.

The teacher should know that a pupil may be slow because he is careful, meticulous, or cautious; because he usually refuses to generalize; or because he cannot understand an idea unless he does something physically—for example, with his hands—in connection with what he is trying to understand.

BOOKS

for leaders

PDK Book 'Useful and Timely'—John Fischer

NEW DIMENSIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, Stanley Elam, editor. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1963. 190 pp. $3. Reviewed by *John H. Fischer*, president, Teachers College, Columbia University.

EACH of the six papers given at the Phi Delta Kappa Symposium at the University of Pittsburgh in May, 1962, deals with an important aspect of American education, but not all of them can accurately be called "new dimensions." Nonetheless, the papers are useful and timely, and seem to have set off some lively talk among the participants. Indeed, parts of the discussion cut deeper into the subjects than the papers themselves.

The title of Theodore Brameld's opening presentation, "World Civilization, the Galvanizing Purpose of Public Education," is slightly misleading, for the purpose that Mr. Brameld supports with impressive intensity can hardly be said to galvanize education at the moment. Whether it soon will, on Mr. Brameld's terms, is also something less than an indisputable certainty.

In his view, the "creation of world civilization" should be "the one overarching purpose [of education] to which all others, bar none, are of subordinate importance." To achieve the purpose, he would fashion a curriculum focused consistently on this single goal from the kindergarten onward. By grade four or five he would be attacking nationalism, and in due course such other obstacles as racialism, religious hostility, improper economic exploitation, the power struggle for markets—and birth control.

As one step in transcending "limited institutional patterns of custom, practice, and value," the people of the earth will have to see and share "the vision of world civilization." This is to be accomplished by a carefully planned strategy which will include the deliberate creation of "a new myth for the emerging age," since "the achievement of world civilization is concomitant with its mythologizing." Mr. Brameld's prediction that the methods and results of this crusade will be "radical," "revolutionary," and "thrilling" seems reasonable enough. They might even be "galvanizing." But before joining up, a few of the skeptics are almost certain to raise a question or two about the whole glorious business. How, for example, they may ask, are the circuits of this wondrously galvanic system to be designed and who will throw the switches?

The second paper, by Allison Davis, aims at a nearer target: "The Future Education of Children from Low Socio-Economic Groups." Mr. Davis, too, is concerned with cultural lag and economic waste, but approaches the problems at a somewhat lower altitude than Mr. Brameld. Because he sees the realities of human beings and institutions more clearly, his proposals are more promising.

But many who will agree with his analysis of the difficulties facing disadvantaged pupils will object to his repeated references to "training" as the way to help children cope with them. Is our problem to learn "how to train" children and adolescents? Are our manpower requirements to be met by "training" children from the lower income group? Is the first step in educating the culturally deprived child "to *train* the pupil to like the teacher"? When he says that the teacher should understand the child's cultural background, motivate him, use materials that make sense to him, expand his conceptual horizon, Mr. Davis' views are sound and persuasive; but his insistence on *training* as a major theme in the work of the school calls, at the very least, for a fuller explanation.

On one other point he raises more doubt than he settles. Since most children learn language best through imitation, he argues that "each nursery school should include some children from higher income groups and better educated families." While it may be true that "imitation of the prestige members of the peer group is the strongest learning incentive after the child is six or seven," it is by no means clear that a minority of children from better educated homes will in fact be the "prestige members" in a class drawn predominantly from lower income families. But even if the process did work, more needs to be said than Mr. Davis has put into this paper on the morality of using one child for another's benefit.

In discussing the "Implications of Research for American Secondary Education," John C. Flanagan necessarily reviews some familiar ideas, but his sample of findings from Project Talent includes some new information and important support for earlier hunches. The information that the average American twelfth-grader, tested on material from *Look* and the *Reader's Digest*, understands only half of what he reads raises troublesome questions not only for American schools but for the whole democratic process in this country. Yet a parallel finding that one ninth-grader in four does better in many subjects than the average twelfth-grader is also worth noting. Mr. Flanagan was unable in a single paper to analyze these data fully, but they suggest that the school is still doing a better job with the abler student than with the average and below average. Making the secondary program universally educational is an item of business still far from finished. We need to hear a great deal more from John Flanagan about the outcomes of his Talent Project, and the sooner the better.

Robert K. Murray talked to the symposium about "The Missing Dimension in American Higher Education." Since Mr. Murray is a historian, it will surprise nobody that what he finds missing is a sufficiently strong concern for the spirit of learning, for basic studies, and for the examination of values, not only through the usual scholarly channels but on the campus itself. He paints a grim and gloomy picture of American education, but he comes around finally to conceding that things might be changing for the better. Observing that many students are becoming more serious, that they are "longing for commitment," Mr. Murray suggests that society itself may be shifting its emphases in a way that could "precipitate an invigoration and recasting of the whole of our national life." There are those of us who think he might be right.

Lindley Stiles's "Education and Teachers for the Space Age" adds little to what has already been said on that subject, but there are useful ideas in his paper and they can stand repetition and elaboration. Indeed, it's a pity he didn't do more with one of his sentences on the first-rate teacher. "The object," he says, "must be to provide a sufficient proportion of teachers of high-level competence to set the pace and standards for teaching excellence for the entire profession."

This idea is more persuasive than his subsequent proposition that education and teachers can be brought abreast of the responsibilities of the space age by research and development. The need for vastly increased programs in those fields is clear enough, but the shortages in research are at least matched by the widespread and glaring deficiencies of imagination, courage, and style that plague most schools. To be sure, Dean Stiles wants more teachers of high academic aptitude, but scholarly excellence alone, important as it is, will not be enough. In the really good teacher, scholarly intelligence is fortified by strength of mind and set off by that special flair that always marks the artist. Stiles edges up to this notion and even though he doesn't quite say it, he does suggest that a handful of superb teachers can set a tone for a whole faculty. What needs to be added, however, is that even the most outstanding minority stands a better chance of making a difference if an administrator will run interference for them or throw a well-placed block from time to time.

In "The Economics of Higher Education" Seymour Harris gives the usual logical arguments for more federal aid, for higher tuition, and for long-term student loans. The trouble is that too few of those who can do anything about it pay much attention to the facts or to the relation between the GNP and federal participation in financing education. On the question of faculty salaries Mr. Harris raises more questions than he answers. He suggests, for example, that in bringing professorial salary levels up to date it is well to take account of the fact that more professors now do more outside work than they used to. The point is valid for physicists and a few other of the more wanted models of professorial consultants. But only the President consults historians, and philosophers don't have even that to count on. The only hope for humanists appears to be higher salaries, with perhaps a bonus for staying home to mind the store.

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The six papers form together a stimulating little volume. It won't settle any debates but it might well start or feed some good ones.

Predicting the Future Course of History

THE COMING WORLD TRANSFORMATION, by Ferdinand Lundberg. Garden City: Doubleday, 1963. 395 pp. $5.75. Reviewed by *Morris R. Lewenstein*, professor of social science, San Francisco State College.

WHETHER men can predict the future course of history is a tantalizing question both to research scholars in the social sciences and to educators responsible for the program of the nation's public schools. In effect, they act on an assumption that at least some aspects of the future can be predicted. The ultimate aim of all science, both natural and social, is to develop and test general propositions and theories which can be used to predict. Likewise, educational planning is based on the premise that the future will be different from the present, and intelligent thought and activity is necessary to develop facilities and curricula appropriate for impending conditions. Still, both social scientists and educators are constantly nagged by fears that they are trying to do the impossible, that efforts to predict the future must be doomed to failure because history can not be known until *after* it has unfolded.

In his new book, Professor Lundberg tries to deal with such fears and lay them to rest. Siding with those who claim it is possible to develop a true science of society, he attempts to demolish all those who would maintain it is not possible to predict the future. He does not claim to have a crystal ball which tells him how many nations will have membership in the United Nations in 2104, or who will be president of the United States in 1984, but he does believe that it is possible to forecast major social, technological, and even ideological changes for the next 150 years. He believes gross forecasting is possible through the use of logical, mathematical, and technical tools already available. With these tools he believes it is possible to project some social trends which are already both identifiable and irreversible. And he believes he can anticipate other changes which will be brought about by the conscious efforts of rational men who would otherwise have to face the consequences of not adopting them.

A major part of the book is devoted to developing a theory of social prediction based on the author's conceptions of knowledge and social change. The remainder describes and analyzes social changes which allegedly can be predicted on the basis of this theory. These projected changes relate to a wide range of institutions and processes, including government, labor-management relations, science and technology, and education. The boldness with which they are stated can be illustrated by the statement: "The consequence of the continuous demand for adult higher education will be that the adult division of the universities and colleges will become the largest segment in the entire school system."

The number and range of specific predictions are too vast for enumeration here. In fact, one of the defects of the book is the profusion of specific forecasts. The reader must fight off a feeling of weariness as he plows through this detailed vision of the future. Nevertheless, the effort is worthwhile. The discussions of theory and what one can and can not learn from the study of history and the social sciences are first-rate. Perhaps all of the specific predictions made by the author will not come true. One even wonders whether some of them might be based on preconceptions of the left-leaning historian who wrote *America's Sixty Families*[1] rather than on empirical evidence. Professor Lundberg himself sets limits on the validity of his predictions when he says they all depend on the continuance of a relatively peaceful world and the avoidance of thermonuclear war. He also admits that much more research in the social sciences is needed before the effects of many currently visible trends can be stated with precision. Nevertheless, the book offers a stimulating look into the future, a glimpse of a world that will seem attractive to some and unattractive to others, but the world with which educators will have to acquaint themselves as they plan educational programs to help future students learn to deal with it.

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[1] New York: Vanguard Press, 1937.

A Carefully Skewed Exposé of Juveniles

TEEN-AGE TYRANNY, by Fred and Grace Hechinger. New York: Morrow, 1962 and 1963. 250 pp. $4.50. Reviewed by *Joseph M. Cronin*, principal, Broome Junior High School, Rockville, Maryland.

LATEST chroniclers of adult abdication to adolescents are Fred and Grace Hechinger, the eminent journalists. Alarmists searching for the very worst in today's teen-age set will find evidence aplenty of selfishness, drunkenness, and sensuality. Sex attitudes, the mass media, and the excesses of an affluent suburbia steal the limelight in this carefully skewed exposé of juvenile deficiencies.

Cassandra-like, the authors charge that American society is growing down, not up, and that "American civilization tends to stand in such awe of its teen-age segment that it is in danger of becoming a teen-age society, with permanently teen-age standards of thought, culture, and goals." Psychiatrists, advertisers, and *Time* magazine are among the sources of vivid anecdotes brought in to document the charge.

The schools are asked to share some of the blame for the abdication of adult influence and the reinforcement of an essentially immature sub-culture. Examples of academic negligence rely heavily on tired humor of the "Look, look . . . damn, damn . . ." variety. More seriously, the Hechingers blast not only "automatic promotions" but the junior high school as an institution.

Most of us agree that junior high proms, commencements, and secret societies shouldn't exist. Surely the Hechingers could have tried to discover that junior high schools have gradually dropped commencement ceremonies and have worked actively against most of the "social evils" described. Fred Hechinger, the widely-honored education writer who now edits education news for the New York *Times*, flays progressive education, the concept of readiness, and group discussion as though a majority of schools have dived off the deep end.

The schools, after the first chapter, are left alone so that family and social life can be probed. By page 197 the Hechingers confess that countries other than the U.S. (and lacking junior high schools) report their share of youthful thrill-seeking due to such deeper phenomena as increased wealth, advent of the autocar, and the dissolution of old neighborhood and family ties.

The real theme of the book becomes that of parental permissiveness. Parents should read the "horror stories" of sex and dating decisions, about liquor consumption and burglary-for-kicks. It may be too late to recapture those huge portions of radio, magazine, and movie industries now held by the adolescent alliance without cutting the supply line of money. It is not too late to stamp out teen nightclubs, "training bras," and "open house" party-crashing.

Although the Hechingers claim they are "not against teen-agers," they uncover their lack of insight into today's version of the age-old problem of adolescent groping when they attack *Catcher In The Rye*—the theme, not the bad language. The folk-hero, Tom Sawyer, is contrasted with Salinger's Holden Caulfield: "Instead of drifting down a lazy river, teen-agers of modern literature drag-race down an aimless road of meaningless danger or get themselves senselessly beaten by a pimp in a flea-bag hotel." Critics today compare the violence of *Huckleberry Finn* with that of Faulkner and Hemingway while explaining that Holden's quest for meaning is very real. Holden's beating follows a rather sensible and somewhat moral decision, one that may be extremely helpful for other boys who have shared his concerns about sex.

Teen-Age Tyranny follows a spate of books on the post-World War II adolescent. In fact, the authors make a major contribution by including an excellent bibliography. Much as Vance Packard made his points, the Hechingers develop their case not by any original survey but through a distillation of many other studies, from *The Lonely Crowd* to James Coleman's *The Adolescent Society*. Educators who want to fight the "tyranny" might consider Peter Wyden's *Suburbia's Coddled Kids*, another muckraking book on the same topic but based on a comparison study of two "bedroom" communities of differing income levels. These two volumes probably bring to the saturation point the market for "popular" sociology of adolescence. Pass the Hechinger book on to parents of potentially promiscuous problem children.

Even while we register shock and dismay at the extent of adolescent depravity, evidence appears that young people are looking for a tighter code of ethics. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions released a report recently suggesting that the end of the moral breakdown is near, that young Americans are developing more character. College students—adolescents not long ago—are turning to the noble causes, to the folk songs of social protest, to worship and to prayer.

Exegesis of a 'Special Kind of Vice' in America

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE, by Richard Hofstadter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. 434 pp. $6.95. Reviewed by *Raymond H. Muessig*, associate professor of education, Purdue University.

IN *Apology*, the reconstructed account of his beloved mentor's trial, Plato has Socrates say that "the unexamined life is not worth living." Socrates identifies himself as "a sort of gadfly" whose job it is to fasten upon others, "arousing and persuading and reproaching" them. While Socrates paid the supreme price for his convictions, he played a dramatic part which has served as a model for thoughtful, sensitive persons from 399 B. C. to the present. Other dedicated, courageous individuals with probing minds have added to the legacy Socrates perpetuated, but even today the role of a critical analyst is rarely a comfortable or popular one. The contemporary savant who examines his society's inappropriate or antagonistic ends and means, questionable *a priori* assumptions, covert *non sequiturs*, and unfulfilled dreams has no assurance that his shared observations will be greeted hospitably.

His concern about the status and function of American intellectuals has led Richard Hofstadter, De Witt Clinton Professor of American History at Columbia University, to "trace some of the social movements in our history in which intellect has been dissevered from its coordinate place among the human virtues and assigned the position of a special kind of vice." As the author and co-author of books such as *Social Darwinism in American Thought, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States, The Age of Reform*, and *The*

American Republic, this recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in history is no stranger to the American scene. He feels that "anti-intellectualism is pervasive in our culture" and that "in the United States the play of the mind is perhaps the only form of play that is not looked upon with the most tender indulgence."

Hofstadter rejects the idea that the American public is "simply divided into intellectual and anti-intellectual factions." He has the impression that the "greater part of the public, and a great part even of the intelligent and alert public, is simply non-intellectual; it is infused with enough ambivalence about intellect and intellectuals to be swayed now this way and now that on current cultural issues." He holds that twentieth century intellectuals have been "engaged in incompatible efforts: they have tried to be good and believing citizens of a democratic society and at the same time to resist the vulgarization of culture which that society constantly produces."

Anti-intellectualism in American Life is an ambitious undertaking, for it attempts to portray religion, politics, business, and education. As one might anticipate, the picture Hofstadter takes with his wide-angle lens has its sharpest focus in politics, but it suffers some distortion at the edges where religion and education seem to have been standing when the shutter was snapped.

Hofstadter argues that religion was the "first arena for American intellectual life, and thus the first arena for an anti-intellectual impulse." The "forces of enthusiasm and revivalism won their most impressive victories" at an early stage in American history, he reports. The Awakening "gave to American anti-intellectualism its first brief moment of militant success," and later the evolution controversy and the Scopes trial "greatly quickened the pulse of anti-intellectualism." "For the first time in the twentieth century," Hofstadter adds, "intellectuals and experts were denounced as enemies by leaders of a large segment of the public." The idea is developed that "fundamentalism has been a significant component in the extreme right in American politics" since the 1930's and that the cold war and struggle against world communism "have given the fundamentalist mind a new lease on life."

In the political realm Hofstadter posits: "When the United States began its national existence, the relationship between intellect and power was not a problem. The leaders *were* intellectuals." Yet at the same time a "current of anti-intellectualism can be found in some of the earliest expressions of popular political thought," and the Jacksonian movement which followed produced the "first truly powerful and widespread impulse to anti-intellectualism in American politics." Hofstadter follows the threat of anti-intellectualism in politics, perceiving one of its crescendos with the defeat of Adlai Stevenson.

Hofstadter places business "in the vanguard of anti-intellectualism in our culture" because it is the "most powerful and pervasive interest in American life." The "claims of practicality have been an overwhelming force in American life," the historian feels, and "since the mid-nineteenth century, business men have brought to anti-intellectual movements more strength than any other force in society." Hofstadter's fear that the relationship between business and intellectualism can be detrimental is evident in this statement:

> . . . The freedom of intellect and art is inevitably the freedom to criticize and disparage, to destroy and re-create; but the daily necessity of the intellectual and the artist is to be an employee, a protégé, a beneficiary—or a man of business. . . .

Commenting upon American education, Hofstadter says that our society has been "passionately intent upon education" but that the results of our educational system have been "a constant disappointment." He finds some elements worthy of praise and even defense, concedes that the "history of American educational reformers often seems to be the history of men fighting against an uncongenial environment," and alludes to a few of the many problems which envelop the ideal of universal, free, public education. But he is convinced that crucial aspects of our educational system have come under the control of people who are hostile to intellect and that this condition explains many things in twenty-five words or less. Occasionally Hofstadter lapses into breezy, superficial asides which come as a disappointment from a historian of his caliber and stature such as: "(Life-adjustment educators would do anything in the name of science except encourage children to study it.)" In rarer instances he even lets his typewriter get away from him in a passage like this:

> . . . The more humdrum the task the educationists have to undertake, the nobler and more exalted their music grows. When they see a chance to introduce a new course in family living or home economics, they begin to tune the fiddles of their idealism. When they feel they are about to establish the school janitor's right to be treated with respect, they grow starry-eyed and increase their tempo. And when they are trying to assure that the location of the school toilets will be so clearly marked that the dullest child can find them, they grow dizzy with exaltation and launch into wild cadenzas about democracy and self-realization.

Although he has a short quotation from an article by an educator like William Chandler Bagley, the essentialist, and endeavors to provide some balance to his dour treatment of American educators, Hofstadter has a tendency to lump all persons involved in professional education—past or present, competent or incompetent, scholarly or unscholarly—into a single stereotypic, gray glob.

Anti-intellectualism in American Life is well written on the whole and interestingly (if not always objectively) documented, and it should serve as a vehicle for worthwhile individual contemplation or group discussion. While Hofstadter confesses that "factual details are organized and dominated by [his] views," his views tend to be constricted. At times he leans toward over-simplification and monistic diagnosis. Though he is critical of others whose concepts, precepts, goals, and procedures lack specificity and rigor, his own definition of what is meant by "intellectual" is sketchy and his recommendations for implementation are meager.

Perhaps Hofstadter's book suggests a companion volume similar to the one Herman H. Horne proposed to accompany John Dewey's treatise, *Democracy and Education*. On June 18, 1929, Horne wrote to Dewey suggesting an "expository analysis of the main points in the argument" offered by Dewey and a "contrasting point of view" as a follow-up to *Democracy and Education*. Horne hoped to face similar concerns from the point of view of an idealist. Dewey welcomed the idea, and Horne's *The Democratic Philosophy of Education* was penned and published. Analogously, a researcher-writer might tackle a volume centered around the growth and development of intellectualism in American life, uncover positive dimensions and their exemplification, and spell out his program for the care and feeding of intellect today and tomorrow in our society. The combined impact of Hofstadter's "it can happen here and has" approach and a second "but it doesn't have to and hasn't always" endeavor might be doubly enlightening.

► Among the current books on megalopolis is *Education in Depressed Areas*, edited by A. Harry Passow (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia, 1963. $4.75). Separate sections treat of psychological aspects, sociological aspects, teachers, and programs. Among the seventeen contributors are Robert Havighurst, Martin Deutsch, and John Fischer.

Keeping Abreast in Education

What Can New Teachers Teach?

► In June, 1963, more than 158,000 college graduates became eligible to teach in the nation's classrooms.

Eligible to teach what? NEA surveyed the recent graduates and found:

The upsurge of interest in foreign languages continues; the increase in 1963 over 1962 was 32 per cent—4,200 prospective new teachers as against 3,200 last year.

For the fourth consecutive year science showed a more-than-average increase in prospective new teachers. The gain was nearly 20 per cent, with 9,300 candidates.

Prospective new mathematics teachers totaled 8,100, an increase of 18.8 per cent over 1962.

Social science continues to produce the largest number of new teachers despite the oversupply in this field. The new supply of 16,800 means an increase of 14.3 per cent over 1962.

Nativity Scene Ruled Constitutional

► A nativity scene on a public school lawn does not violate the U.S. Constitution, a New York supreme court justice has ruled, because it is a "passive accommodation of religion" and no one is forced to look. The judge stated that such a display is not "active involvement by government in religious exercises" like the required recitation of the Lord's Prayer or classroom Bible reading.

Correlates of School Achievement

► The amount of homework expected of pupils, the existence of homogeneous grouping, and the school guidance program provide no correlation with students academic achievement, according to a ten-state study by professors H. Thomas James, J. Alan Thomas, and Harold J. Dyck of Stanford. Items which do relate directly to pupil achievement, these investigators found, are: starting salary of teachers, number of books in the school library, experience of teachers, and number of days in the school year.

Rural Youth Problems Discussed

► Current emphasis on urban problems may lead some to forget that youth unemployment is 50 per cent higher in rural areas and that only one of ten rural boys can expect to become a commercial farm owner or operator. Rural youth problems, stemming largely from accelerated farm technology, were discussed recently at a national conference at Stillwater, Oklahoma. Winthrop Rockefeller was chairman.

► A distribution of full-time high-school teachers in California shows the mode in the $10,000 to $10,099 class. But the median is $7,421. Both figures are from "Salaries of Certified Employees in California Public Schools, 1962-63," published by the State Department of Education.

Negro Contributions Emphasized

► Negro contributions to the arts, sciences, and other fields are emphasized in special materials being made available to teachers by the New York State Education Department.

The department will not require individual schools to use the materials but will furnish guidelines and teaching aids to those that wish to use them.

The idea of a separate course on Negro history was rejected on the basis that this could be a form of discrimination in itself—treating the Negro apart from the normal course of historic events.

The Los Angeles Board of Education is considering a similar plan. Its committee on equal educational opportunities received a proposal from a civil rights group that teachers use audio-visual and library materials to show contributions made to American life by minority groups.

Waterbury Teachers Impose Sanctions

► Teachers in Waterbury, Connecticut, stalemated in their attempts for higher salaries and improved standards in the school system, are conducting a sanction against participation in extracurricular activities. Refusal of members of the Waterbury Teachers Association to volunteer for these activities has caused curtailment of cafeteria supervision, driver education, adult education, sports programs, club advisers, and school paper and yearbook activities. The Board of Education budget, supported by the WTA, has not yet been acted upon by city authorities. The WTA action has been endorsed by the Connecticut Education Association, and a Waterbury school board spokesman said that the board and the superintendent of schools are in sympathy with the teachers' cause.

Cambridge Master Hails Bar on 11-Plus

► The dropping of the notorious eleven-plus examination by London school authorities has been hailed by many British educators. Sir Eric Ashby, F.R.S. and master of Clare College, Cambridge, addressing the 125th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, asserted that British schools have been unscientific, obsolescent, and of value only to a privileged few. He also suggested that the time may come when a college degree or professional qualification, like a passport, will be valid only for a limited number of years, and will need to be renewed by a systematic course of re-education.

World Approaching New Dark Age?

► Science is downgrading the literary arts to such a degree that the world is approaching a new dark age, Harvard English professor Douglas Bush asserted at a recent conference of literary scholars. Others dissented, praising science for offering creative contributions and blaming the humanists for failing to adapt their offerings to a changing world.

Benefits of Lengthened School Year

► Six New York school districts are involved in a three-year project to determine if, by lengthening the school day and the school year, a year or more can be lopped off the usual twelve-year program. Among the possibilities under consideration are the telescoping of three consecutive grades, such as the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, into two and one-half years by lengthening the school day or the number of weeks in the school year. An eleven-month year is provided at the high-school level. It is predicted that such a program could save the state of New York over $900 million per year without impairing the instructional program.

'Education Most Backward Field'—Weisner

► President Kennedy's chief science advisor, Jerome Weisner, charges that education is the most backward field in our society. Unless antiquated methods of teaching are replaced, he says, the prospective golden age of science will not materialize. Speaking at the International Union of Geodosy and Geophysics, Weisner granted that startling discoveries have been made regarding the capabilities of the young for learning mathematics and the sciences but asserted that these discoveries are not being applied on a broad scale.

Higher Education Support Up 26 Per cent

► Expenditures for higher education in this country increased 26 per cent to $7 billion per year in the two years from 1960 to 1962, according to a report issued by the U.S. Office of Education. The report cited a 15 per cent increase in enrollment as the major cause of increased costs. It listed state governments as the largest single source of support, providing 23 per cent of all college revenues, with tuition and fees second and federal grants third.

Catholics Concentrating on High School

► Some Catholic educators are seriously proposing that all elementary grades in parochial schools be closed to permit concentration on the church's high schools. If this were done, U.S. public schools would have to find classrooms and teachers for 4.5 million students. Curtailment of lower grades has already begun in Cincinnati, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cleveland, Columbus, Green Bay, Spokane, Fargo, St. Paul, and Richmond.

One in Twelve Attends Summer School

► Four million youngsters—one out of every twelve elementary and secondary school students—attended summer school classes in 1963. At least half were enrolled in various enrichment or advanced-study programs.

Summer school sessions are viewed by many educators as the forerunner of an eleven-month school year. The ninety-day school vacation originated years ago when children were required to work on farms.

ACLU Protests Textbook Loans

► Textbook loans to private and parochial school pupils face a test in Rhode Island courts. The American Civil Liberties Union will seek a declaratory judgment against a new state law for reimbursing communities that purchase textbooks for free loan to private and parochial school pupils.

Under the law, local communities must lend to non-public school pupils books from a list of 500 titles in mathematics, science, and modern foreign languages. Communities will be reimbursed for the purchase of books for loan. No limit was set on the number of books that could be purchased.

Milton Stanzler, chief counsel for the ACLU's Rhode Island branch, said the court action was requested by three individuals who planned to file taxpayer's suits against local school committee members and the state Board of Education.

S-R BONDS

Defective Copies

I liked the October Kappan—that is, the part I got. Some of it seems to be missing. Can you furnish a spare copy, or send pages 1, 2, 67, and 68?—James Watson, Denver, Colo.

(Editor's Note—*Glad to. Our printer puts his faith in some automatic controls that went temporarily haywire. As many as 100 defective copies were mailed, he tells us. Some have two blank pages. Others have four missing pages. We hope others who received defective copies will let us know, for we want to replace all of them.)*

Relevant or Irrelevant?

Mr. O'Loane (October S-R Bonds) dismisses the legal pertinency of my data with the pontifical judgment that "four of the five cases mentioned are irrelevant." More rigorous scholarship on Mr. O'Loane's part would have spared him the embarrassment of making such a pronouncement.

The sole piece of litigation cited that *is* completely irrelevant is the *Bradfield* case. As everyone knows, it concerned a hospital, not schools. I dealt with that erroneous equation in my June Kappan article.

As for the *McCollum* and *Zorach* decisions, 8-1 and 6-3 splits respectively, Mr. O'Loane will find that in both cases *all* eighteen votes combined were cast in precise terms to bar financial support for religious activity. Since parochial schools really exist to perpetuate religion, does Mr. O'Loane still hold that these decisions are irrelevant? In the *Torcaso* opinion, delivered by Justice Black on June 19, 1961, reaffirmation of the *Everson* financial doctrine barring public funds for sectarian schools is clearly stated in writing. Mr. O'Loane also avers that the Court's decision not to consider a write of *certiorari* for *Swart* was not a decision. Now really!

The 1961 *Swart* case, now seen as a new landmark decision, reversed the so-called "child benefit" dictum set by the 1930 *Cochran* case in Louisiana. Reinforcing *Swart* were two state supreme court decisions the same year—Alaska's *Matthews* v. *Quinton* and then Oregon's *Dickman* review.

While we are on the level once described by Justice Frankfurter as "judicial nitpicking," let us take a closer look at the *Everson* case, which did, as Mr. O'Loane states, permit bus transportation to parochial schools. What Mr. O'Loane neglected to point out was that the court saw fit to classify bus transportation as "child benefit" *in the category of public safety, not under education.* Restating, the court drew a clear distinction between public safety transportation and instruction.

Mr. O'Loane concludes his letter with "The relevant decisions permit government support of the public service function of private schools—secular education." Not so, if he persists in equating parochial with all private schools. Thus far, we have little evidence demonstrating that secular education is prevalent in parochial schools. He would do well to ponder the more serious question, "Where are the Catholic Einsteins, Oppenheimers, and Salks?" *That* question was posed by President Hesburgh of Notre Dame. If and when genuine secular education does prevail over dogma in church schools, there will then be every justification for full public financial support for "sectarian" education in the United States.—Robert B. Smawley, *director of research,* Eastern Washington State College, Cheney.

KAPPAN a Party Captive?

I have read a certain article, "How Kentucky Teachers Won at Politics," in the October Kappan. Has this journal become just another organ of the Democratic Party?—J. A. Woofter, 412 Union, Ada, Ohio.

(Editor's Note—*No.*)

On NCATE Debate

You and Phi Delta Kappa are to be congratulated for publishing my Las Vegas, New Mexico, speech along with Dean Travelstead's rebuttal. We are lucky to have an independent publication such as the Kappan and an editor with courage to deal with important issues about which disagreement prevails. —Lindley J. Stiles, *dean,* School of Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Strictly Satirical

It Can't Happen Here?

(A play in one act)

By A. J. FIORINO

SCENE: *Mr. Shakespeare, president of Local 573, United English Teachers, enters the superintendent's office and shakes hands with the superintendent.*

SUPT.: My secretary said you have a very important problem to discuss with me, so we made time to meet with you. What seems to be the difficulty?

MR. S.: This is not a personal problem. I'm here as the official representative of my union.

SUPT.: Oh? Isn't this unusual? Mr. Dynamic of the United Teachers of America normally comes in to discuss union problems. Does he know you're here?

MR. S.: No, he doesn't. I thought perhaps this problem might be settled without involving the whole union. Several weeks ago it came to our attention that the history teachers had arbitrarily decided to teach note-taking, outlining, and certain research techniques.

SUPT.: I'm afraid I still don't understand. Apparently, the history teachers feel that the students should be re-taught these skills as needed in their history classes. What's wrong with this?

MR. S.: Mr. Superintendent, you know as well as I do that teaching these skills is the responsibility of English teachers.

SUPT.: I still don't see this as a serious situation. Have you talked to the history teachers about this?

MR. S.: When we questioned them, they admitted that they had been teaching outlining and note-taking. They insist that their students are so weak in outlining and note-taking that it is necessary to review what had been taught in the English classes.

SUPT.: That sounds like a reasonable position for them to take, since these skills are so necessary to the study of history. They apparently recognize the importance of these skills and deliberately review them to improve the students' use of them.

MR. S.: We too recognize the importance of these skills. But our position is that if the students cannot satisfy the requirements of the history teachers in the use of these English skills, this indicates that we have too many students in our classes. If *more* instruction is necessary, *more* English teachers should be hired. In any event, the history teachers must discontinue teaching skills which have been assigned to English teachers. After all, we don't teach history in our English classes.

SUPT.: I doubt, Mr. Shakespeare, that the board will approve the hiring of additional English teachers. As you know, we have budget problems and this request would be resisted. Furthermore, I'm not sure I have the authority to tell the history teachers that they can't teach these skills.

MR. S.: We are not insisting that more English teachers be hired, but we are demanding that the history teachers not infringe on our prerogatives.

SUPT.: But Mr. Shakespeare, if the English teachers do not have enough time to teach these skills thoroughly and the history teachers are not allowed to, where does this leave the students?

MR. S.: If the board wishes to have the students receive more thorough instruction in English, they have no choice but to hire more English teachers. There are many qualified English teachers who are not working as teachers. This would provide many of these teachers with the opportunity to contribute their knowledge and skills in the field of their choice.

SUPT.: Frankly, Mr. Shakespeare, I still don't appreciate your problem, and I don't think I can force the history teachers to stop. They are entitled, as all teachers are, to some freedom in determining the most effective methods of teaching their classes.

MR. S.: Mr. Superintendent, you may not want to forbid the history teachers to teach English skills, but you should know that my union is prepared to take drastic action if its demands are not met. We intend to take this to the Executive Council of the United Teachers of America and demand action against the history teachers.

SUPT.: Why, you are suggesting that this is a jurisdictional dispute!

MR. S.: Exactly so.

SUPT.: This is a situation I never imagined could develop in my school. It's unbelievable! But if I must, I'll look into the situation in detail. Give me a few days. . . .

MR. FIORINO *(Alpha Psi 596) is assistant professor of education, University of Detroit.*

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